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ABSTRACT

As the United States continues to become more ethnically, culturally, and racially diverse, schools face an increasingly heterogeneous population of students. Public schools have implemented programs to meet the needs of these diverse cultural groups and to assist them in integrating into society. This book presents an introduction to various concepts in the area of multicultural education as well as current practices and research within the area. The articles included are: (1) "Cultural Diversity and Intergroup Relations" (J. Banks); (2) "The Development of a Multicultural Environment within the Schools" (A. Stills); (3) "Assessing Teachers' Abilities for Educating Multicultural Students" (C. Bennett); (4) "Multicultural Education in the College of Education: Are Future Teachers Prepared?" (W. Wayson); (5) "Senior Education Students' Attitudes about Multicultural Education" (M. Moultry); (6) "Multicultural Attitudes and Knowledge of Education Students at a Midwestern University, 1987" (A. Contreras); (7) "Teachers' Perceptions of Race and Human Relations in a Multicultural Setting" (C. Heid; D. Kotze); (8) "Teachers' Perceptions on Factors Related to Student Discipline" (C. Heid and others); (9) "Effects of Children's Social Class, Race, and Gender on Teacher Expectations for Children's Academic Performance" (M. Smith); (10) "Starting from Strength: Accelerated Reading Progress for At-Risk Children" (G. Pinnell); and (11) "Effects of Home, School, and Academic Tracks: A Reanalysis of the IEA Data" (S. Clark). (JB)

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION:
Knowledge and Perceptions

Camilla A. Heid

Editor

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Indiana University - Center for
Urban and Multicultural Education
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PREFACE

For generations, schools in the United States have transformed new arrivals and their offspring into loyal and productive Americans. The products of the schools moved smoothly into the cultural mainstream and yet retained large segments of their cultural and ethnic heritage. Today, the schools face growing numbers of immigrants from war torn countries, immigrants with physical features marking them as different and immigrants from third world countries.

Like many affluent countries, the United States has become more ethnically, culturally and racially diverse during the last twenty years. Current predictions indicate this trend will continue as well as grow in the United States. It is predicted that minorities will constitute majorities in fifty major cities in the United States by the year 2000.

Given that we live in an increasingly multicultural nation, the public schools have implemented programs to meet the needs of the diverse cultural groups and to assist them in integrating into society. This book presents an introduction to various concepts in the area of multicultural education as well as current practices and research within the area.

In Part I, James Banks presents the rationale for assisting students to develop and clarify their cultural, national and global identification and to develop positive racial and ethnic attitudes in order to improve the human condition. Aaron Stills discusses the implications for teachers and administrators in their need to understand cultural diversity and presents strategies for creating successful classroom multicultural interactions. Finally, Christine Bennett proposes a teacher education model for assessing teachers' abilities to educate multicultural students.

Part II commences with studies at two midwestern universities on education students' attitudes towards multicultural education. The first study is presented by William Wayson and Murphy Moultry; Reynaldo Contreras presents the second study. Camilla Heid and Derek Kotze present the findings from a study designed to assess teachers' perceptions on race and human relations in a recently desegregated secondary school. Teachers' perceptions on factors related to student discipline in an urban school district are reported in a chapter by Camilla Heid, J. John Harris III and Richard Pugh. Mieko Kotake Smith utilizes the data collected for the study of family-school socialization of young children (DHEW No. 90C-632) to examine whether teachers hold different expectations for children of a different gender, race and socio-economic status and how these expectations differ. The Reading Recovery program piloted in Columbus, Ohio with a group of low income first grade children is documented by Gay Su Pinnell. The program was subsequently made a state program. Finally Sanza Clark reanalysizes the international data collected under the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). She examines possible correlations between ability grouping and socio-economic status of students.

This book was organized to provide educators with recent thought and research on multicultural education. It is intended to enhance current practices and initiate further research. It is also intended to assist educators in transforming new arrivals into productive Americans within the mainstream of society.

Part I
Introduction

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM

James A. Banks

In terms of race relations, I think that we are living in contradictory times. As a result of the reform movements of the 1960s and 1970s, many individual members of ethnic minority groups such as Afro-Americans and Mexican Americans have entered the middle class. The social mobility among Blacks stimulated the sociologist William Julius Wilson (1978) to write his provocative and controversial book, *The Declining Significance of Race*. However, the mobility of non-White ethnic Americans has slowed considerably within the last several years, due in part to a problematic economy and to a changing political climate and national ethos.

Along with a small but significant ethnic middle class are the masses of Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and members of other ethnic minority groups who are poor. Some sociologists have called this group an *underclass*. However, we should note that this is a label used primarily by outsiders. I do not think that most inner-city residents refer to themselves as an underclass. Since middle-class sociologists write the books, they do the labeling. The labels they construct for themselves are considerably more compassionate than those they give to other groups.

However, the point I want to emphasize is that class allegiances are becoming increasingly important both within and across ethnic groups. We have a solid Black middle class which sometimes sees its interests as different from those of the masses of poor Blacks. The same is true for other ethnic groups such as Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. However, despite the tremendous class differences within the Black community, Blacks from all social class groups often see their interests as shared because of a strong sense of peoplehood reinforced by structural exclusion and discrimination. The way that most Blacks voted in the 1984 presidential election demonstrated an expression of shared interests. However, the significant number of Blacks that send their children to private schools and that are moving to the suburbs indicates that significant class differences and interests exist within the Black community. As the nation's economic problems loom larger and scarcity increases, people and groups become more inner-directed and focus more on their particular ethnic, class, and personal interests and needs. They become much less interested in the general state of the nation and in the condition of other groups and subgroups.

Most college students today are more interested in getting a job and "making it" than they are in civil rights or solving the problems of poverty. Their attitudes are different from those of many college students a decade or two ago who participated in civil rights marches and expressed strong concerns about human rights and the Vietnam War. Human rights and social concerns do not seem to be a high priority among most young and upwardly mobile middle-class individuals—called yuppies by the popular press.

The my-group orientation which is widespread within our society today increases ethnic conflict and polarization because the groups that are making it in our society and those that are not are often divided along ethnic and racial lines. One clear implication of this observation is that it is difficult for a nation to have harmonious race relations as long as members of particular ethnic and cultural groups are concentrated largely at the lower rungs of the social ladder. It is difficult for people who are poor and desperate to feel positive toward themselves, not to speak of attitudes toward others. Those groups that are successful will often be neutral toward or will oppose efforts to give special entitlements or help to the poor. The structural inclusion of all ethnic, racial, and cultural groups into the fabric of our society will go a long way toward solving problems related to ethnic conflict and polarization.

As educators, we can do little to eliminate poverty stratified along ethnic and racial lines. However, we can at least recognize the complexity of the problems we are trying to solve, and can create a school environment and culture that fosters equality and positive intergroup relations, and that validates the culture of each child. We can also help students to understand the interrelationship of class, race, and ethnicity in the United States and to think reflectively about these issues.

Ethnic polarization and conflict is increasing at the same time that our society is becoming more racially and ethnically diverse. Since the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 (which became effective in 1968), the ethnic texture of the nation has deepened considerably. Large numbers of immigrants have come from the war-torn nations of Indochina, and from Korea, China, the Philippines, and Mexico. We are experiencing a new wave of immigrants, both documented and undocumented, which is having a major impact on American society and on the nation's schools.

The percentage of the nation's non-White population grew considerably between 1970 and 1980, while the *percentage* of Whites in the population actually decreased. However, the *number* of Whites in the nation actually increased during this period. The following observations suggest how the growth in the nation's ethnic populations will affect our schools and society in the coming decades (American Council on Education, 1984, p. 8):

- — The average age of the white population is growing older; that of the minority population is much younger. A major implication of this is that the retirement income of people at work today will depend on the productive employment of minority young people who are in school now, as will the future economy and military.
- — Minorities constitute the majority of school enrollments in 23 of 25 of the nation's largest cities.
- — By the year 2000, more than 50 major U.S. cities will have a majority minority population.
- — Hispanic population growth has been and continues to be the highest of all groups.

— The majority of Blacks and Hispanics in higher education are enrolled in community colleges or predominantly Black and Hispanic institutions.

— Serious erosion has occurred in the rates of Black and Hispanic high school graduates who go to college.

Group Identity and Ethnic Conflict

Sonnenschein (1985) raised this important question in a letter to the participants in an educational conference sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: Is the present emphasis on the maintenance of group identity, language, and culture leading to a possible Balkanization of American society? Many individuals who answer this question in the affirmative assume that cultural and national identity are distinct entities and that we can help students to develop clarified and reflective national identities by suppressing and eradicating their ethnic and cultural identities. Historically, this has been the approach used by the common schools in the United States to develop national loyalty and identification. Students were told to leave their cultures at the schoolhouse door because in the classroom only "American culture" was allowed. "American" was defined as "Anglo-American."

In a compassionate essay, Greenbaum (1974) describes how the school taught ethnic individuals "shame" for their ethnic cultures, but gave them "hope" for inclusion into American society if they betrayed and denied their ethnic cultures. This is a flawed and dysfunctional way to help students to develop national loyalty and clarified, positive, and reflective national identifications.

Students must see their cultures, perspectives, world views, and ethos reflected in the nation-state in order to develop positive attitudes and loyalty toward it. The nation-state and the school must validate, legitimize, and respect the cultures of ethnic students if they are to feel a part of the national society and to develop strong loyalty to the nation-state. When the state and public institutions reject and show disrespect for the cultures of individuals and groups, they respond by becoming alienated from the nation-state rather than developing strong loyalties to it. They focus on particularistic needs and goals rather than on the overarching goals of the body polity or nation-state.

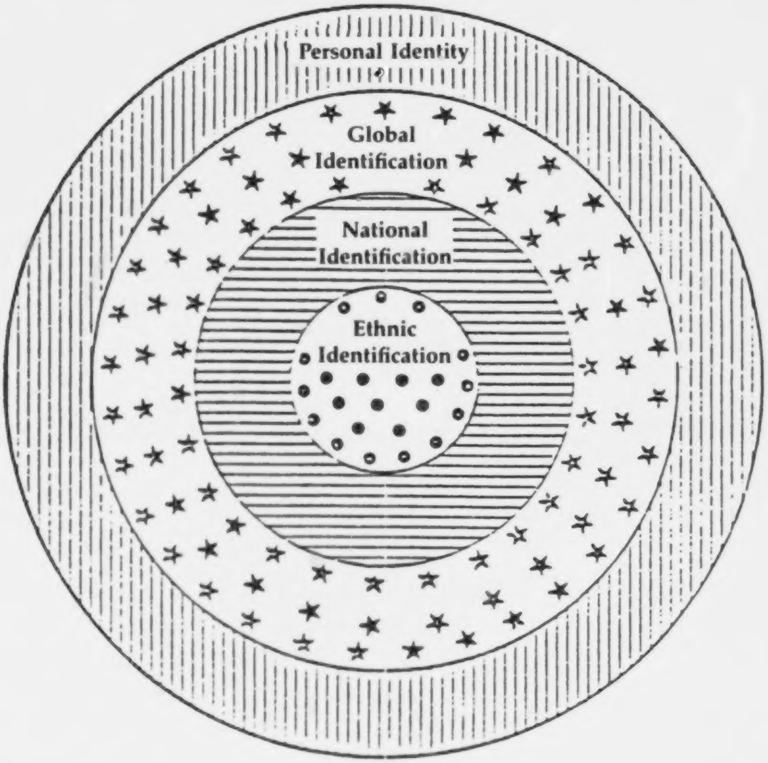
To help students to develop the civic competence and skills, attitudes, knowledge, and values needed to function in a pluralistic nation and a global world society, we must help them to develop clarified, positive, and reflective cultural, national, and global identifications (Banks, 1988). The relationship between cultural, national, and global identifications and personal identity are illustrated in Figure 1. Cultural, national, and global identifications are interrelated—each is a requisite to the other. Students cannot develop strong and clarified attachments to the nation-state if they have confused cultural identifications, experience self-alienation, and feel that they are not integral parts of the nation-state and that it fails to validate and reflect their cosmos and world. Individuals can develop positive and clarified global attachments only if they have realistic and reflective national identifications.

Cultural, National, and Global Identifications

I am defining identification as "a social-psychological process involving assimilating the values, standards, expectations, or social roles of another

Figure 1

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONAL IDENTITY AND ETHNIC, NATIONAL, AND GLOBAL IDENTIFICATIONS*


Personal Identity
Global Identification
National Identification
Ethnic Identification

The Relationship between Personal Identity and Ethnic, National, and Global Identifications. Personal identity is the "I" that results from the life-long binding together of the many threads of a person's life. These threads include experience, culture, heredity, as well as identifications with significant others and many different groups, such as one's ethnic group, nation, and global community.

* Reprinted from Banks, J.A. (1981). *Multiethnic education: Theory and practice.* Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, p. 219. Reproduction without the publisher's permission is strictly prohibited.

person or persons into one's behavior and self-conception" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1979). Identification is an evolving, dynamic, complex, and ongoing process and not a static or unidimensional conceptualization. All individuals belong to many different groups and consequently develop multiple group attachments and identifications. Individuals who have clarified and reflective cultural, national, and global identifications understand how these identifications developed, are able to thoughtfully and objectively examine their cultural group, nation and world, and understand both the personal and public implications of these identifications.

Cultural Identification

I am using the term *cultural identification* to refer only to those attachments and identifications that relate to regional, religious, social class, ethnic, and racial groups (Banks, 1983). These groups are primarily ascriptive and involuntary. They are primary groups to which individuals are likely to have deep psychological attachments, primordial affiliations, and a sense of peoplehood and historic attachment. These groups evoke feelings and allegiances of a "we-they" and a "us-them" variety. The attachments that individuals are likely to have to their primordial cultural groups, such as their small neighborhood and their ethnic or religious group, are primarily emotional, non-reflective, unexamined, and unconscious.

The primordial or cultural communities in which students are socialized deeply influence their behavior, their notions of what is right and wrong, and their fundamental beliefs about the world in which they live. Students' ideas about the sacred and the secular, and the importance of each in their lives, are also cogently shaped by their cultural communities. Many of the problems that develop between the school and the community, and many of the cultural disparities that students experience, are caused by conflicting values, beliefs, and behavior that are taught by the home and the school. The American school, because of its role and function, has become increasingly more secular and scientific since the turn of the century and highly suspicious and hostile toward folk beliefs and cultures. Yet, many students are socialized in homes and communities in which the sacred is valued more than the secular and the scientific, and in which traditional cultural beliefs and values are strongly held.

The school should help all students to develop an understanding of their cultural group identifications, to objectively examine their cultural groups, to better understand the relationship between their cultural groups and other cultural groups within their nation, and to learn the personal and public implications of their cultural group identifications and attachments. Historically, the school has forced students to experience alienation from their first cultures. Write Berger and Neuhaus (1977), "There are many . . . sometimes unconscious, ways in which the education establishment systematically disparages ways of life other than those of the upper middle class. Yet these disparaged ways of life are precisely the ways in which parents of millions of American children live. Thus, the schools teach contempt for the parents, and ultimately self-contempt."

Just as political democracy is practiced in our schools, cultural democracy should be legitimized and respected in the nation's public institutions such as schools. Berger and Neuhaus write further (1977): "Strengthening institutions such as the family and community will make people feel more at home in society and the political order will be more meaningful."

National Identification

As important as it is for the school to reflect cultural democracy and to respect and understand the student's culture, it is also vitally important for all American youths—from each cultural group—to develop a reflective and clarified national identification and a strong commitment to American political ideals. An important role of the school is to help socialize youths so that they develop the attitudes, values, and competencies needed to fully participate in the nation's civic life.

To maintain a vigorous and healthy democracy, a nation must have a set of overarching idealized values to which all groups of its citizens must be committed. Myrdal (1944) described the overarching idealized values of our nation as the American Creed, which includes equality, justice, liberty, and human dignity as core values. As in every nation-state, there is a significant gap between our idealized national values and our societal practices. A major goal of each generation should be to help close the gap between our ideals and realities.

Global Identification

It is essential that we help students to develop clarified, reflective, and positive cultural and national identifications. However, because we live in a global society in which the solutions to the earth's problems require the cooperation of all nations of the world, it is also important for students to develop global identifications and the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to become effective and influential citizens in the world community. I believe that cultural, national, and global identifications are developmental in nature and that an individual can attain a healthy and reflective national identification only when he or she has acquired a healthy and reflective cultural identification; and that individuals can develop a reflective and positive global identification only after they have a realistic, reflective, and positive national identification.

Individuals can develop a clarified commitment and identification with a nation-state and the national culture only when they believe that they are a meaningful part of that nation-state and that it acknowledges, reflects, and values their culture and them as individuals. A nation-state that alienates and does not meaningfully and structurally include an ethnic group into the national cutlure runs the risk of creating alienation within that ethnic group and of fostering separatism and separatist movements and ideologies. Citizens will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to develop reflective global identifications within a nation-state that perpetuates a nonreflective and blind nationalism.

The Need for a Delicate Balance of Identifications

Unexamined and nonreflective cultural identifications, and structural exclusion from full participation in the national civic culture, can prevent students from developing reflective national identifications. Blind nationalism that is non-reflective will prevent students from developing positive and reflective global identifications. Students need to develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications.

The Expanding Identifications of Youths: A Typology

I have developed a typology of the stages of ethnic and cultural development that describes the nature and interrelationships of cultural, national, and global identifications (Banks, 1988). This typology assumes that individuals can be classified according to their stages of ethnic and culture identification development. It is a Weberian ideal-type construct (Figure 2) and should be viewed as dynamic and multidimensional rather than as static and linear. Thus, within Stage 1, individuals are more or less culturally psychologically captivated; some individuals are more culturally captivated than others. The division between the stages is blurred rather than sharp. Thus a continuum exists between as well as within the stages (Banks, 1977, p. 21).

Stage 1: Cultural Psychological Captivity. The individual accepts the negative ideologies, beliefs, values, and norms about his or her ethnic or cultural group that are institutionalized within the larger society during this stage. Consequently, the individual exemplifies cultural self-rejection and low self-esteem.

Stage 2: Cultural Encapsulation. This stage is characterized by cultural encapsulation and cultural exclusiveness, including voluntary separatism. The individual participates primarily within his or her own cultural group and believes that his or her cultural group is superior to that of other groups. The number of individuals in this stage within a particular cultural group is likely to decrease as the group experiences economic and social mobility and structural inclusion into society.

Stage 3: Cultural Identity Clarification. The individual in this stage is able to clarify his or her attitudes and cultural identity and to reduce intrapsychic conflict. He or she is able to develop clarified attitudes toward his or her own cultural group. The individual learns to accept self, thus developing the characteristics (knowledge, skills, and attitudes) needed to accept and respond positively to outside racial and ethnic groups.

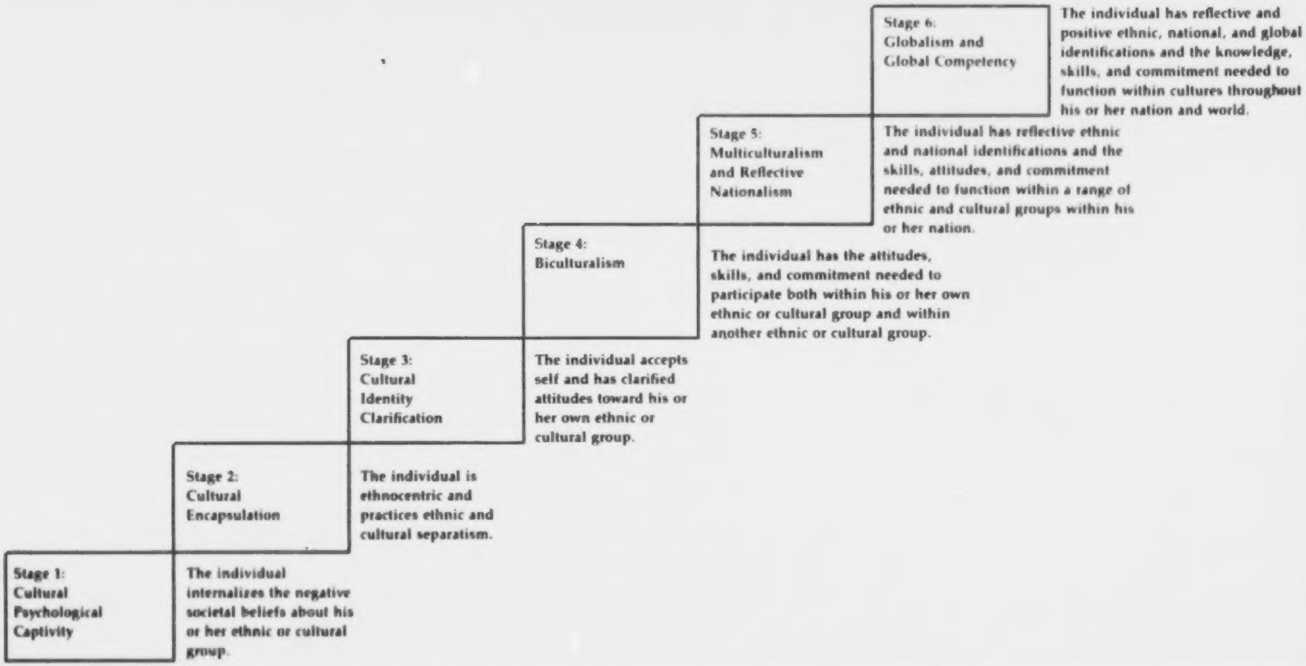
Stage 4: Biculturalism. Individuals within this stage have a healthy sense of cultural identity and the psychological characteristics and skills needed to participate successfully in his or her own culture as well as within another culture. The individual is thoroughly bicultural and is able to engage in cultural-switching behavior.

Stage 5: Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism. The Stage 5 individual has clarified, reflective, and positive personal, cultural, and national identifications, positive attitudes toward other cultural and ethnic groups, and is self-actualized. The individual is able to function, at least beyond superficial levels, within several cultures within his or her nation-state and to understand, appreciate, and share the values, symbols, and institutions of several ethnic, regional, or social class cultures within the nation-state.

The individual has a reflective and realistic national identification and realistically views his or her nation-state as the multiethnic and multicultural society that it is. The Stage 5 individual has cross-cultural competency within his or her own nation and a commitment to the national ideals, creeds, and values of the nation-state.

Figure 2

THE STAGES OF ETHNIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT



Stage 1:
Cultural Psychological Captivity

The individual internalizes the negative societal beliefs about his or her ethnic or cultural group.

Stage 2:
Cultural Encapsulation

The individual is ethnocentric and practices ethnic and cultural separatism.

Stage 3:
Cultural Identity Clarification

The individual accepts self and has clarified attitudes toward his or her own ethnic or cultural group.

Stage 4:
Biculturalism

The individual has the attitudes, skills, and commitment needed to participate both within his or her own ethnic or cultural group and within another ethnic or cultural group.

Stage 5:
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism

The individual has reflective ethnic and national identifications and the skills, attitudes, and commitment needed to function within a range of ethnic and cultural groups within his or her nation.

Stage 6:
Globalism and Global Competency

The individual has reflective and positive ethnic, national, and global identifications and the knowledge, skills, and commitment needed to function within cultures throughout his or her nation and world.

Reprinted from Banks J.A. (1988). *Multiethnic education: Theory and Practice* (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, p. 50. Used with permission of the publisher.

Stage 6: Globalism and Global Competency. The individual in Stage 6 has clarified, reflective, and positive cultural, national and global identifications, and the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function within different cultures within his or her own nation as well as within cultures outside his or her nation in other parts of the world. The Stage 6 individual has the ideal delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications.

Prejudice and Youths

Individuals need positive racial and ethnic attitudes in order to function effectively in cross-cultural settings and to attain globalism and global competency. Research and other forms of evidence indicate that prejudice and discrimination remain important challenges in our society and that unless positive steps are taken to intervene, the racial attitudes of young people tend to become increasingly negative as they grow older. The research by Williams, Boswell, and Best (1975), Morland and Suters (1975), and Katz (1975) indicates that very young children come to school with negative racial attitudes toward various racial and ethnic groups. Research by Glock (1975) and his colleagues indicates that prejudice and anti-Semitism is widespread among adolescents.

While research indicates that prejudice is widespread among young people, it also indicates that positive intervention efforts can help to reduce it. Multiethnic materials and accurate information, when presented in appropriate ways, can help students to develop more positive attitudes toward different ethnic and racial groups (Katz, 1975; Williams and Morland, 1976). Glock and his colleagues also found that increasing students' cognitive sophistication and ability to reason at higher levels can also reduce prejudice and discrimination. Effective media presentations can also reduce prejudice in students and help them to develop more accurate perceptions of different ethnic, racial, and religious groups.

Macro Approaches to Prejudice Reduction

Most approaches to the reduction of prejudice in the schools have focused on limited factors in the school environment such as instructional materials, and aspects of the formalized curriculum such as courses and increasing levels of cognitive sophistication (Gabelko & Michaelis, 1981). While it is necessary to focus on these aspects of the school environment, this approach is clearly insufficient because the school is an interrelated social system, each part of which shapes and influences the racial attitudes and behavior of students. The social structure of institutions has a cogent impact on the racial attitudes, perceptions, and behavior of individuals. Thus, intervention designed to reduce prejudice among students should be institutional and comprehensive in nature. While it is necessary to use multiethnic instructional materials to increase the cognitive sophistication of students, to focus exclusively on instructional materials and increasing the cognitive sophistication of students is too narrow and will not substantially reduced institutional prejudice and discrimination.

To reduce prejudice, we should attempt institutional or systemic reform of the total school and try to reform all of its major aspects, including institutional norms, power relationships, the verbal interactions between teachers and students, the culture of the school, the curriculum, extra-curricular activities, attitudes toward minority languages, and the counseling and testing program. The latent or hidden values within an institution like a school often have a more cogent impact on students' attitudes and perceptions than the formalized course of study. Educators who have worked for years in curriculum reform know that equipping teachers with new skills, and placing them into an institutional environment whose norms contradict and do not support the teacher's use of those newly acquired skills, frequently leads to frustration and failure. Thus, any approach to school reform that is likely to succeed must focus on all major elements of the school environment.

Prejudice among students is reinforced by many aspects of the child's environment, including the school. Cortés (1981) uses the concept of the "societal curriculum" to describe the societal factors that influence and shape children's attitudes toward different ethnic and racial groups, such as television, newspapers, and popular books.

Often the negative images of ethnic groups that children learn in the larger society are reinforced and perpetuated in the school. Rather than reinforcing children's negative feelings toward ethnic groups, the school should counteract children's negative societal experiences and help them to develop more positive attitudes toward a range of ethnic and racial groups. It is not possible for the school to avoid playing a role in the ethnic education of students. This is because many children come to school with stereotypes of different racial and ethnic groups and negative attitudes toward these groups. Either the school can do nothing deliberate to intervene in the formation of children's racial attitudes (which means that the school would unwittingly participate in the perpetuation of racial bias), or it can attempt to intervene and influence the development of children's racial attitudes in a positive direction.

To take this latter course, it is imperative that the school not merely devise a few units or teaching strategies to reduce prejudice and focus on the histories and cultures of ethnic groups on particular days or weeks of the school year. Specialized units and teaching strategies are clearly insufficient. Teaching about ethnic groups only at particular times may do more harm than good because these kinds of activities and rituals may reinforce the idea that ethnic groups, such as Jews and Blacks, are not integral parts of American society.

The school environment consists of both a manifest and a hidden curriculum. The manifest curriculum consists of discernible environmental factors such as curriculum guides, textbooks, bulletin boards, and lesson plans. These aspects of the school environment are important and must be reformed in order to create a school environment that promotes positive attitudes toward diverse ethnic and racial groups. However, the school's latent or hidden curriculum is often a more cogent factor than its manifest or overt curriculum. The latent curriculum has been defined as the curriculum that no teacher explicitly teaches but that all students learn. It is that powerful part of the school experience that communicates to students the school's attitudes toward a range of issues and problems, including how the school views them as human beings and its attitudes toward diverse racial and ethnic groups.

How does the school communicate its cogent, latent messages to students? They are communicated to students in a number of subtle but powerful ways, including the following methods:

1. Verbal and nonverbal interactions that teachers have with children from different racial and ethnic groups, the kinds of statements teachers make

about different ethnic groups, and teachers' nonverbal reactions when issues related to ethnic groups are discussed in class convey cogent messages to students. Research by Gay (1974), Rist (1970), and the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1973) indicates that teachers often have more positive verbal and nonverbal interactions with middle-class, Anglo students than with ethnic minority and lower-class students.

2. The manner in which teachers respond to the languages and dialects of children from different ethnic and racial groups presents another method of communicating latent messages. Some research suggests that teachers are often biased against the languages and dialects of children who are members of particular ethnic and racial groups (Saville-Troike, 1981).

3. Grouping practices used in the school. Research by Mercer (1981) and Samuda (1975) indicates that members of some ethnic groups in the United States are disproportionately placed in lower ability groups because of their performance on IQ and other standardized aptitude tests that discriminate against these groups because they are normed on middle-class Anglo Americans.

4. Power relationships in the schools transmit cogent messages. Often in schools, most of the individuals who exercise the most power belong to dominant ethnic groups. Students acquire important learning by observing which ethnic groups are represented among the administrators, teachers, secretaries, cooks, and bus drivers in the school.

5. The formalized curriculum also makes statements about the values that the school has toward ethnic diversity. The ethnic groups that appear in textbooks and in other instructional material teach students which groups are considered to be important and unimportant by the school.

6. Learning styles, motivational systems, and cultures that are promoted by the school express many of the school's important values toward cultural differences. The educational environments of most schools are more consistent with the learning patterns and styles of Anglo American students than with those of ethnic minority students, such as Blacks, Indians, and Puerto Ricans. Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) have found that Mexican American youths tend to be more field sensitive than field independent. Field sensitive and field independent students differ in a number of characteristics and behavior. Field sensitive students tend to work with others to achieve a common goal and are more sensitive to the feelings and opinions of others than field independent students. Field independent students prefer to work independently and to compete and gain individual recognition. Students who are field independent are more often preferred by teachers and tend to get higher grades, although learning style is not related to IQ.

An Interdisciplinary Conceptual Curriculum

While it is essential that educators take an institutional approach to school reform when intervening to reduce prejudice in students, the formalized curriculum is a vital element of the school. Hence, curriculum reform is imperative. The curriculum within a school designed to help reduce prejudice in students should be interdisciplinary, focus on higher levels of knowledge, and help students to view events and situations from diverse ethnic and national perspectives.

In many ethnic studies units, activities, and programs, emphasis is placed on factual learning and the deeds of ethnic heroes. These types of experiences use ethnic content but traditional teaching methods. Isolated facts about Martin Luther King do not stimulate the intellect or help students to increase their levels of cognitive sophistication any more than discrete facts about George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. The emphasis in sound multiethnic programs must be on *concept attainment, value analysis, decision making,* and *social action* (Banks, 1987, 1988). Facts should only be used to help students to attain higher level concepts and skills. Students need to master higher level concepts and generalizations in order to increase their levels of cognitive sophistication.

Concepts taught in the multiethnic curriculum should be selected from several disciplines and, when appropriate, be viewed from the perspectives of such disciplines and areas as the various social sciences, art, music, literature, physical education, communication, the sciences, and mathematics. It is necessary for students to view ethnic events and situations from the perspectives of several disciplines because any one discipline gives them only a partial understanding of problems related to ethnicity. When students study the concept of *culture,* they can attain a global perspective of ethnic cultures by viewing them from the perspective of the various social sciences and by examining how they are expressed in literature, music, dance, art, communication, and foods. The other curriculum areas, such as science and mathematics, can also be included in an interdisciplinary study of ethnic cultures.

Concepts such as *culture* can be used to organize units and activities related to ethnicity that are interdisciplinary. Other concepts, such as *communication* and *interdependence,* can also be analyzed and studied from an interdisciplinary perspective. It is neither possible nor desirable to teach each concept in the curriculum from the perspectives of several disciplines and curricular areas. Such an attempt would result in artificial relationships and superficial learnings by students. However, the many excellent opportunities that exist within the curriculum for teaching concepts from an interdisciplinary perspective should be fully explored and used.

Interdisciplinary teaching requires the strong cooperation of teachers in the various content areas. Team teaching will often be necessary, especially at the high school level, to organize and implement interdisciplinary units and lessons.

Conclusion

To help students to develop clarified, positive, and reflective cultural, national, and global identifications, the school environment must be reformed so that it reflects the diverse cultures of students. The school must also help students to develop more positive attitudes toward different ethnic, racial, and cultural groups if they are to become effective citizens of our nation and world. Efforts to reduce prejudice and to help students develop positive racial and ethnic attitudes must be based on a total-school, holistic model. When changes take place in the total school environment, students have the possibility to attain the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to improve the human condition.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT WITHIN THE SCHOOLS

Aaron B. Stills

Introduction

A major concern of the elementary and secondary school systems across the country is how to incorporate educational materials and program activities for students from culturally diverse backgrounds into the regular school curriculum. The school districts have experienced an increase in the enrollment of minority students, and this increase will continue at a rapid rate over the next decade. Hispanics, Blacks, Asians, Africans, and American Indians comprise the largest of these culturally diverse student groups. While there is an increase in the number of minority students enrolling in secondary schools, there is also an alarming number of students who are not graduating from secondary school or attending college. These students are not inferior to white students. They are capable of learning and experiencing success if provided the proper academic and psychological nurturing. To speak of any child as "culturally disadvantaged" merely because of his/her ethnic origin is damaging not only to the child but also to society, for it deprives the nation of the contributions that can be made by each of the many groups that make up our country (Stent 1973).

There is a need for school systems to make cultural diversity an asset, and these school systems should establish curriculum content and programs that create an "I'm OK" atmosphere. A special effort must be made by school officials to create a multicultural environment within the schools. It is imperative that school systems focus their cultural awareness programs on personal and social attitudes or beliefs about race and ethnicity. Many minority children are aware of racial prejudice by the age of three. By introducing cultural enrichment education to children at an early age, this new awareness of subcultural systems will afford them the opportunity to develop a positive mental framework for relating to their own culture and the culture of others.

Multicultural Concept

The multicultural challenges facing the schools are related to establishing a comprehensive multicultural program. The multicultural concept has emerged as the new theoretical term for providing educational services to individuals from diverse backgrounds. The multicultural concept maintains that most conflicts have different causes and manifest themselves differently depending upon the individual's race, ethnicity, culture, sex, and other socioeconomic factors. This premise leads to a consideration of special knowledge and methods of program intervention on behalf of these specialized groups that may vary from population to population. Multicultural programs in school settings should be designed with a wide base for learning about the characteristics of culturally diverse individuals and groups.

Wilson and Stills (1981) defined the term multicultural as a member of cultural groups based upon race, ethnicity, religion, language, nationality, income level, and other factors. Multiculturism is not a euphemism for the term minority.

To be effective, multicultural programs should reflect the contributions and cultural interests of the various ethnic groups in attendance. Parents, students, community leaders, and school officials should be a part of the planning process. Their in-put is especially important during the process of establishing program goals, objectives, activities, and the evaluation process. One of the overall goals of the program should be to eradicate racism and social oppression in all forms in the schools.

Barriers to establishing a multicultural environment would include: (1) resistance to change on the part of school officials, i.e., an unwillingness to give up or change the "way we do things around here;" (2) lack of commitment; (3) lack of sensitivity to minority students' needs; and (4) poor change agent skills of school professionals.

Culture

There is absolutely nothing wrong with one's culture. The central message is that there is something unique—not better or worse—something different, about intra- and interethnic groups (Wilson and Stills, 1981).

Culture is defined by the language, beliefs, values, customs, kinship patterns, and skills. These cultural determinants assist individuals with identity development, behavior patterns, personality formation, group identification, institutional affiliation, and artistic activities. Derald Sue (1981) argues that cultural identity affects the culturally different individual world view. He explained that world views are composed of our attitudes, values, opinions, and concepts, and our world views also may affect how we think, make decisions, behave, and define events. All minorities do not have the same world view. In addition to the characteristics stated above, Sue explained that economic and social class, religion, and sex are also interacting components of a world view. John Aragon (1973) believes that culture, in the context of cultural pluralism, would include commonality among individuals within any given group in (1) language, (2) diet, (3) costuming, (4) social patterns, and (5) ethics.

The educational process is one of interpersonal interaction and communication. Padilla, Ruiz, and Alvarez (1975) identified three significant factors that hinder the development of a good counseling or teacher/student relationship: (1) language barriers, (2) class-bound values, and (3) culture-bound values. These psychologists concluded that these variables seem to interact in such a way as to seriously hinder and distort communications.

These are the same variables that influence the effectiveness of communication between minority students and teachers/administrators in the school systems. The cultural aspects of the school-aged youth should not be overlooked or taken for granted by educational providers. If educators fail to recognize the existence of cultural diversity, inappropriate conclusions can be drawn about curriculum and programmatic planning. The school environment must be conducive to learning. It is important for teachers, counselors, and administrators to be culturally aware and give consideration to ethnic group differences.

Sue (1981) has offered nine assumptions which focus on the importance of the counselor's ability to understand cultural diversity.The implications of these assumptions can be modified to apply to the culturally skilled teacher and administrator.

1. The culturally skilled teacher or administrator is one who has moved from being culturally unaware to being aware and sensitive to his/her own cultural baggage. Culturally skilled teachers or administrators have moved from ethnocentrism to valuing and respecting differences. Other cultures are seen as being equally valuable as their own.
2. A culturally skilled teacher or administrator is aware of his/her own values and biases and how they may affect minority students. He or she constantly attempts to avoid prejudice, unwarranted labeling, and stereotyping. He or she tries not to hold preconceived limitations/notions about minority students. As a check on this process, culturally skilled teachers or administrators monitor their functioning supervision via consultation, supervision, and continual education.
3. The culturally skilled teacher or administrator will have a good understanding of the sociopolitical system's operation in the United States with respect to its treatment of minorities. Especially valuable for the teacher or administrator is an understanding of the role cultural racism plays in the development of identity and world views among minority groups.
4. A culturally skilled teacher or administrator is one who is comfortable with differences that exist between the teacher or administrator and student in terms of race and beliefs. Differences are not seen as being deviant. The culturally skilled teacher or administrator does not profess "color blindness" or negate the existence of differences that exist in attitudes/beliefs. The basic concept underlying color blindness is the humanity of all people. Regardless of color or other physical differences, each individual is equally human. The message tends to be "I like you only if you are the same" instead of "I like you because of your difference."
5. The culturally skilled teacher or administrator is sensitive to circumstances (personal biases, stages of ethnic identity, sociopolitical influences, etc.); that may dictate referral of the minority student to a member of his/her own race/culture. A culturally skilled teacher or administrator is aware of his/her limitations in conflict situations and is not threatened by the prospect of referring a student.
6. The culturally skilled teacher or administrator must possess specific knowledge and information about the particular group he/she is working with. He/she must be aware of the history, experiences, culture, values, and life-styles of various racial/ethnic groups. The greater the depth of knowledge of a cultural group and the more knowledge he/she has of many groups, the more likely the teacher or administrator can be effective. Thus, the culturally skilled teacher or administrator is one who continues to explore and learn about issues related to various minority groups throughout their professional careers.
7. The culturally skilled teacher or administrator must have a clear and explicit knowledge and understanding of the generic characteristics

of multicultural education and administration. These characteristics encompass language factors and culture-bound and class-bound values. The teacher and administrator should clearly understand the value assumptions inherent in the teaching strategies and administrative styles and how they may interact with values of the culturally different.

8. At the skills level, the culturally skilled teacher or administrator must be able to generate a wide variety of verbal and nonverbal responses. Teachers and administrators must be comfortable with a multitude of response modalities.
9. The culturally skilled teacher or administrator must be able to send and receive both verbal and nonverbal messages accurately and "appropriately." The key words send, receive, verbal, nonverbal, accurately, and appropriately are important. Communication is a two-way street. The culturally skilled teacher or administrator must not only be able to communicate (send) his/her thoughts and feelings to the student, but also be able to read (receive) messages from the student.

Culturally skilled teachers and administrators should be able to develop educational curricula and programs which reflect the cultural values and norms of minority groups. If not, the curriculum and program activities will continue to be infested with information and activities representing the dominant culture. The issue presented indicates that teachers and administrators should modify the curriculum to include ethnic group cultural experiences.

Model

As I have noted, effective intervention strategies for multicultural programs must include methodologies for learning about different cultures. Cooperative learning strategies constitute this approach. These strategies are also appropriate for creating successful multicultural interaction.

The applications of cooperative principles to classroom and workshop activities began in the 1970's (Slavin, 1981). Theoretically, cooperative learning is based on Allport (1954) and the Social Science Statement for positive effects of desegregation on race relations. His recommendations included: cooperation across race lines; equal-status roles of students of different races; contact across race lines that permits students to learn about one another as individuals; and the communication of unequivocal school personnel support for interracial interaction (Slavin, 1981). More recently, Slavin (1981) outlined three primary cooperation learning methods that had major implications for creating a multicultural environment within the schools. They are Student Teams-Achievement Divisions (STAD) (Slavin, 1978) and Teams-Games-Tournament (TGT) (DeVries and Slavin, 1978), and Jigsaw teaching (Aronson, 1978).

Student Teams-Achievement Division (STAD)

STAD is composed of five interrelated components: class presentations, teams, quizzes, individual improvement scores and team recognition.

1. *Class Presentations.* Cultural information and materials are presented to the group. These cultural presentations include components of culture such as foods, languages, social patterns, values and beliefs,

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or ethics. The counselor/teacher can use video tapes, television, audio visual aids, handouts, and other activities to initiate classroom or group discussions.

2. *Teams.* Teams are composed of all racial or ethnic groups and both genders. Team members work on academic assignments or cultural awareness exercises. *A Manual of Structured Experiences for Cross-Cultural Learning* by Weeks, Pederson, and Brislin (1979) consists of structured exercises which can be used to facilitate this team approach to multicultural training. The manual's primary focus is the utilization of interculture workshops to convene knowledge about culture that is different from one's own.
3. *Quizzes.* Students take quizzes on information presented by a teacher, counselor or other students. Students are not allowed to assist each other on the quiz. The object of this exercise is to assess students' knowledge of materials covered. The responsibility to know the information is placed on the student.
4. *Team Recognition.* Team scores, the average number of points earned by the team members above their respective base scores, are recognized in a class newsletter or bulletin board (see Slavin, 1981).

Team-Games-Tournament (TGT)

TGT is very similar to STAD in basic rationale and methodology. It replaces the quizzes and improvement score system used in STAD with a system of academic game tournaments. Students from each team compete with students from other teams of the same level of past performance and try to contribute to their team scores. This cognitive exércise allows students to gain additional knowledge about their own and others ethnicity. It gives each student an opportunity to contribute to the team score (see Slavin, 1981).

Jigsaw

Students are assigned to heterogeneous teams as in STAD and TGT, except that each team has six members. All team members receive a special topic on which they are to become the team's expert. For example, in a unit on Chile, one student might be appointed as an expert on Chile's history, another on its culture, etc., for a total of five topics, two students share a topic. The students read their sections and then discuss them in "competent groups" or "expert groups" made up of students from different teams who have the same topic. The "experts" then return to their teams to teach their teammates what they have learned. Students in Jigsaw are thus interdependent for information, which structures cooperative interaction between them. However, in contrast to STAD or TGT, there is no group feedback or reward (see Slavin, 1981).

Additional Multicultural Activities

There are numerous cultural awareness activities that are appropriate for enhancing a multicultural environment within the schools. Some examples are:

1. *Race Culture Seminar.* Teachers, administrators, and staff members participate in a three-day race culture seminar. Prior to the seminar,

the facilitator helps the committee to establish an agenda. The race culture committees from the various schools design their own structured activities for the seminar. The major objectives of the seminar are: (1) to develop an awareness of one's own feelings concerning racial and cultural differences; (2) to assess the status of race relations in the individual schools; (3) to develop individual and group action plans to help solve racial problems within the individual schools; and (4) to assist in the creation of a healthy respect for cultural diversity within the schools.

2. *Black History Month.* Black History Month is not for Blacks only. All ethnic groups can benefit from Black History Month activities. The month can be used by schools to create an effective learning environment for examining the Black experience from the perspective of race, culture, history, socioeconomic class, and psychosocial intragroup and intergroup relationships. A Black History Month committee should be formed to develop a month long program. The committee should consist of students, teachers, administrators, and staff members.
3. *Culture Awareness Week.* Schools could use this week to implement programs about the characteristics of various ethnic groups in our society. Programs would focus on multicultural views of socialization, language, foods, ethnic apparel, religion, artistic expressions, and cultural groups' emerging life-styles.
4. *Student Exchange.* A White student attending a predominantly White school would attend a predominantly Black school for one day. This exercise would assist the White student in gaining a unique awareness of what it is to be a minority.

Guidance Principles

During the past decade, educational groups have developed guidance principles for developing a multicultural environment within the schools. These groups consisted of individuals from various academic disciplines as well as race and ethnic backgrounds. The Conference on Education and Teacher Education for Cultural Pluralism formulated some suggestions. The following list is a modification of these suggestions.

1. Cultural pluralism should be recognized in the selection of personnel for decision-making bodies in all education program so that minority communities will have a policy role in such programs.
2. All learning materials that are used in school instruction-audiovisual materials, periodicals, etc., as well as textbooks, should be accurately representative of ethnic minorities so as to implement the concepts of cultural diversity.
3. A clearinghouse for the dissemination of culturally pluralistic materials and teaching strategies should be established. The library or resource center would be an appropriate facility.
4. A data bank of consultants on culturally pluralistic learning materials should be established.
5. The principal of the school or his/her representative should take the lead in seeking sources for funds and other assistance to have culturally pluralistic materials prepared for publication by minority

groups and to have these materials promoted so they become available in the schools.

6. Standardized tests should be used only for purposes of instructional diagnosis and improvement of minority children in academic skills. In all testing, the tester must speak the language of the child. The tests must be administered and interpreted in terms of the child's background.
7. School systems should provide training programs for educational personnel who need additional experiences in the area of cultural pluralism.
8. The need for multicultural staffing, particularly in positions of power such as those of administrators or program coordinators, should be recognized in appointments and promotions of professional personnel in school systems.
9. Certification criteria for educational personnel in programs of education should include evidence of experience in and commitment to the community (Spanish, Chinese, etc.) which the particular programs serve. This is especially important for bilingual programs.
10. A multicultural environment should be recognized as an asset, not a liability, and school programs should be structured to enable culturally-diverse groups of students to capitalize on this asset.

Conclusion

In developing a multicultural environment within the schools, it is important that all individuals within the microcosm participate in the development of the multicultural program. Smith (1981) concluded that true cultural insight may help both students and school personnel to break down the barriers of communication and to reduce their chances of misinterpreting each other's behavior. The decision to accept a race or culture that is different from one's own is the responsibility of the individual. However, schools can assist these individuals by providing the leadership, finances, curriculum changes, and multicultural activities that will lead to the creation of a positive learning environment with the schools for all cultural groups.

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ASSESSING TEACHERS' ABILITIES FOR EDUCATING MULTICULTURAL STUDENTS: THE NEED FOR CONCEPTUAL MODELS IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Christine Bennett

The assessment of teachers' abilities for educating multicultural students is difficult and problematic. It assumes that we know what the requisite abilities are for successful teaching in multicultural settings; it assumes that we know how to develop these abilities; and, it assumes that we have the appropriate tools for measuring them. To date, after nearly two decades of scholarship, research and curriculum development in the field of multicultural education, none of these assumptions can be accepted as true. There is still little agreement on what multicultural education means, and a lack of clarity about its key concepts (Banks, 1979; Gibson, 1984; Grant & Sleeter, 1985). Research studies on the best ways to develop multicultural attitudes and behaviors are inconclusive (Hammer, 1984; Henington, 1981), and little research has extended into the arena of the multicultural classroom.

Furthermore, there is little evidence of a strong commitment to multicultural teacher education programs across the nation (Cummings and Bridges, 1986). It is not uncommon to find teacher educators, not to mention other college faculty and public policy makers, who doubt the wisdom of multicultural education. One common complaint is that multicultural programs do more harm than good, by fostering ethnic stereotypes and misconceptions that one can understand all members of an ethnic group after reading a few books or articles. Another complaint is that multicultural education is devisive because it triggers racial awareness and ethnic polarization. Other critics state that good teachers can teach everyone, believing that monocultural teachers can meet the needs of learners from culturally diverse backgrounds. Still others feel that what is offered in most multicultural teacher education programs can be picked up from the newsmedia and learned simply by being a member of this society. In the face of such doubt and criticism there is an urgent need to document the positive impact of multicultural teacher education programs.

Becoming clearer about the assessment of teacher abilities for educating multicultural students can provide an impetus for strengthening the commitment to multicultural education as a whole. Any assessment of teacher abilities in multicultural classrooms requires a conceptual model that includes multicultural goals and theoretical frameworks. These goals and frameworks supply the necessary guideposts that underlie the assessment design. For example, if elimination of racial prejudice is a goal, the impact of a program based on social contact theory (Allport, 1954; Sagar & Schofield, 1984) could be studied using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale to measure teacher attitudes, classroom observations and measurement of teacher-student interactions, student friendship patterns, and student achievement could extend the evaluation to include teacher abilities in the classroom.

In a review of literature on multicultural education, Grant and Sleeter (1985) note that "there is insufficient conceptual work on the translation of goals into models for practice, and insufficient use of the work that has been done" (p. 111). The void is most noticeable in the area of teacher education, "where no conceptual articles were found about designing a multicultural teacher education program" (p. 111).

In the spirit of Grant and Sleeter's invitation for "more collaborative work on actualizing and institutionalizing" multicultural education (p. 112) this paper presents a conceptual model of multicultural teacher education that was developed out of a more general multicultural curriculum model (Bennett, 1975 and 1986). It then presents examples of effective strategies and topics used in a multicultural teacher education program based upon the model and concludes with an illustration of how the model might be used to develop an assessment of teacher abilities for working with multicultural students.

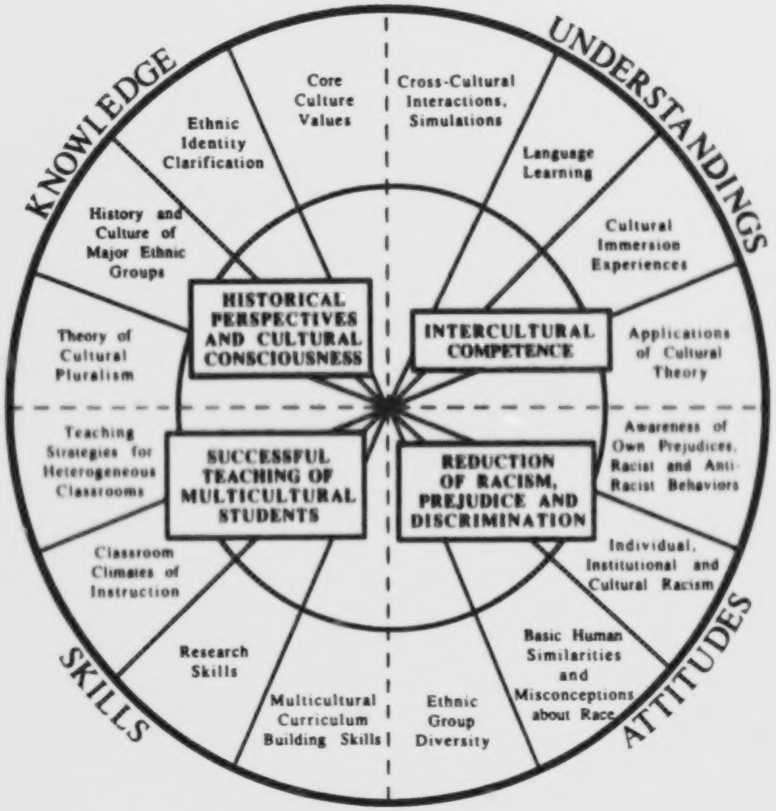
A Conceptual Model for Multicultural Teacher Education

The conceptual model for multicultural teacher education shown in Figure 1 contains four goals that are highly interactive, as is symbolized by the broken lines separating them. The following goals are located in the large inner circle: (1) development of historical perspectives and cultural consciousness; (2) development of intercultural competence; (3) reduction of racism, prejudice, and discrimination; and (4) successful teaching of multicultural students. Located in the larger circle are examples of academic content, strategies and areas of self-awareness that relate to these goals and should be part of the teacher education program. The outer edge of the circle identifies the main focus of each goal as knowledge, understandings, attitudes or skills. These identifiers are somewhat artificial because of the interrelatedness of knowledge, attitudes and behaviors. They do, however, provide a means of identifying and measuring teacher abilities related to each goal, as will be illustrated later in the article.

How the multicultural teacher education goals in the model are developed depends largely on the nature of the clients. Ideally, the clients themselves as well as the faculty would be multicultural. The program illustrations included below are part of a required course based on the model and have been successful with large populations of preservice teachers at a large, predominantly White university in the midwest. Less than 6% of the student population is Black, and even fewer are American Indian, Asian American, or Hispanic. The numbers of Jewish students are not known, but could be estimated at about 10%. Many White students come from small towns and rural areas, and the majority could be described as coming from ethnically encapsulated areas (Banks, 1982). Most are the descendents of Western European immigrants. There is a growing number of international students on campus, particularly from East Asian, Southeast Asian, the Caribbean and Middle Eastern nations. Although many of the White students do not see themselves teaching in ethnically heterogeneous schools, the position taken is that because we live in a multicultural society and in a multicultural world that is shrinking, monocultural teachers cannot serve the needs of either multicultural or monocultural student populations.

Figure 1

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF MULTICULTURAL TEACHER EDUCATION


KNOWLEDGE
UNDERSTANDINGS
SKILLS
ATTITUDES
Core Culture Values
Cross-Cultural Interactions, Simulations
Ethnic Identity Clarification
Language Learning
History and Culture of Major Ethnic Groups
Cultural Immersion Experiences
Theory of Cultural Pluralism
Applications of Cultural Theory
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES AND CULTURAL CONSCIOUSNESS
INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE
SUCCESSFUL TEACHING OF MULTICULTURAL STUDENTS
REDUCTION OF RACISM, PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION
Teaching Strategies for Heterogeneous Classrooms
Awareness of Own Prejudices, Racist and Anti-Racist Behaviors
Classroom Climates of Instruction
Individual, Institutional and Cultural Racism
Research Skills
Basic Human Similarities and Misconceptions about Race
Multicultural Curriculum Building Skills
Ethnic Group Diversity

Pre and posttests are administered to course participants to assess their entry level knowledge of ethnicity in United States society and their attitudes of openness to human diversity, as well as possible course impact. Prior to the course the large majority of students' knowledge about ethnicity is minimal. The course has a significant impact on knowledge gains (as one would expect), and on positive attitude change (Bennett, 1987).

Goal Definitions and Program Content Illustrations

Historical Perspectives and Cultural Consciousness is knowledge and understanding of the world view, social values, heritage and contributions of one's own culture, and of one or more other cultures. In a culturally pluralistic society, the goal is to develop awareness of historical and contemporary experiences among the nation's diverse ethnic groups. This awareness includes both minority group viewpoints and those held by many members of the macroculture. Knowledge about the history and culture of one's own ethnic group is intended to build a healthy sense of pride (not feelings of superiority). Knowledge of the history and culture of at least one additional ethnic group gives clearer insight into one's own ethnicity and builds respect for others.

This is an essential goal for teachers. It enables them to be more discriminate when selecting texts, supplementary materials and media that portray authentic ethnic viewpoints and contributions, and to supplement inadequate materials. It enables them to help students interpret literature, the arts and current events involving ethnic conflict (sometimes on the school grounds) within the framework of historical events and differing ethnic viewpoints. (For example, a historical study of stereotypes of American immigrants would show students that most ethnic groups, including the Irish, Italians and Germans, as well as Blacks, Asians and Hispanics, were stereotyped in subhuman images (Appel and Appel). Yet, there were crucial differences in the experience of People-of-Color in our society that students must also understand. Knowledge of historical perspectives and cultural consciousness enables teachers to teach about slavery, and past and present racial injustice in constructive ways. It enables teachers to know the core cultural values that characterize our schools, and to comprehend the tensions between cultural pluralism and assimilation that occur in our contemporary society and are reflected in most desegregated schools. It alerts teachers to the fact that students may be operating on different cultural expectations.

Clearly, the goal of historical perspectives and cultural consciousness establishes a knowledge base necessary for developing intercultural competence, for reducing racism, and for successful teaching in desegregated classrooms. This goal is typically most difficult to achieve among Whites in our society who identify with the macroculture, for most of them do not see themselves as members of an ethnic group.

One assignment that has helped develop this goal among students at this midwestern university is the writing of an ethnic roots essay. The preservice teachers are asked to:

1. Describe your ethnic background in terms of:
    a. Where your ancestors came from, when they arrived in this country, and where they settled and
    b. The immigrating ancestor or family member who has had the strongest influence on your own development, Tell why this person immigrated and when he or she settled. Describe the most difficult problem(s) this person faced upon arrival, and how he or she (or later family members) dealt with the problem(s). OR

   c. A history of your family in terms of cultural assimilation, accommodation, segregation or separatism, and amalgamation.

2. Apply Longstreet's five aspects of ethnicity to yourself and explain how your own ethnicity is likely to affect you as a teacher:
   a. Verbal communication
   b. Nonverbal communication
   c. Orientation modes
   d. Values
   e. Learning styles, and
   f. Other?

   Be specific and explain how your early experiences shaped each of these aspects of your ethnicity.
3. Briefly explain the degree to which your own ethnicity helped you meet school expectations (grades K-12). If you experienced any areas of "mismatch," please be specific.

Another assignment is the interview of international students on campus to learn about their perceptions of our contemporary society and culture, as well as their preconceptions prior to coming here. Students are surprised to learn about the misconceptions, and stereotypes, and discover patterns in the views of international students from various parts of the world. They learn how it feels to be misperceived, and how one's original culture influences the way we view another culture.

Students also read a variety of novels written by ethnic writers, and discuss them in terms of what the author reveals of his/her ethnic group perspective, diversity within the ethnic group, racism and prejudice, and the degree to which previously held myths and stereotypes about the author's ethnic group are supported or diffused.

Another strategy is the use of research teams that study a major ethnic group and develop an extensive fact sheet for the class based on the following outlines:

1. Descriptive Demographics of the Ethnic Group Studied
   (For example, geographical origins, migration patterns, current areas of concentration; current statistics on population trends, jobs, incomes; levels of education, student graduation and dropout rates, etc.)
2. The Group's Perspective
   (For example, contributions, heritage, heroes and heroines; important cultural values and world view; historical and current conflicts with the macro-culture, etc.)
3. Ethnic Group Diversity
   (For example, differences among members of the ethnic group related to origins, socio-economic levels, political orientation, sense of ethnic identity, degree of assimilation into the macro-culture, etc.)
4. Common Stereotypes in Media and Popular Folklore
   (For example, positive and negative stereotypes found in television, film, literature, textbooks, jokes, etc.)
5. Implications for Teaching Strategies
   (For example, learning style tendencies, potential value conflicts with the school, teaching strategies that help reduce transitional trauma in the classroom, exemplary teaching-learning resources, etc.)

Intercultural Competence is the ability to interpret intentional communications (language, signs, gestures), some unconscious cues (such as body language), and customs in cultural styles different from one's own. Emphasis is on empathy and communication. The goal is to develop self-awareness of the culturally conditioned assumptions persons of different cultural backgrounds make about each other's behaviors and cognitions.

Another way of defining intercultural competence is in terms of the multicultural or intercultural person. Gudykunst and Kim describe the intercultural person as

> "one who has achieved an advanced level in the process of becoming intercultural and whose cognitive, affective, and behavioral characteristics are not limited but are open to growth beyond the psychological parameters of any one culture. . . . The intercultural person possesses an intellectual and emotional commitment to the fundamental unity of all humans and, at the same time, accepts and appreciates the differences that lie between people of different cultures" (p. 230).

According to these authors, intercultural persons:

1. have encountered experiences that challenge their own cultural assumptions e.g., culture shock, dynamic disequilibrium, and provide insight into how their view of the world has been shaped by their culture.
2. can serve as a facilitator and catalyst for contacts between cultures.
3. come to terms with the roots of their own ethnocentrism and achieve an objectivity in viewing other cultures.
4. develop a "third world" perspective "which enables them to interpret and evaluate intercultural encounters more accurately and thus to act as a communication link between two cultures."
5. show cultural empathy and can "imaginatively participate in the other's world view" (p. 231).

This goal of intercultural competence or becoming a multicultural person, is essential for teachers who teach multicultural groups of students, and it also enables teachers to develop cross-cultural understandings among monocultural groups of students. Ideally, teachers in multicultural classrooms are multilingual. Whether or not this is possible, teachers must be alert for potential areas of misunderstanding and conflict due to cultural differences between themselves and their students, and among the students themselves. Longstreet (1978) has developed some powerful guidelines to help teachers know what are the possible sources of misunderstanding: verbal communication, including semantics, syntax and discussion modes; non-verbal communication, particularly kinesics, haptics and proxemics; orientation modes, with special attention to time orientations and spacial arrangements, social values, and intellectual modes. Preservice and inservice teachers can practice using the guidelines with videotapes of classroom teachers of various cultural backgrounds, and in actual classroom settings.

An excellent way to introduce the goal of intercultural competence is with the cross-cultural simulation, *Bafa' Bafa'* (Shirts, 1977). This simulation creates an experience that enables participants to explore the idea of culture, creates feelings similar to those one would encounter when exposed to a different culture, gives participants experience in observing and interacting with a different culture, and provides numerous insights that can be applied to culturally pluralistic classrooms.

Ideally, Bafa' Bafa' would be followed up by a cultural immersion experience. There is no adequate substitute for actually living in the target culture, as in programs similar to the Navajo and Latino Projects developed at Indiana University (*Christian Science Monitor*, 1987; Mahan, Garcia and Fortney, 1983). Where cultural emersions are not possible, more limited field research projects can be used. It is remarkable what ethnically mixed small group discussions, inter-ethnic interviews, and inner city school visits based on student shadowing can accomplish, when they bring together members of ethnic groups who have had little or no previous contact.

Eradication of Racism, Prejudice and Discrimination is the elimination of negative attitudes and behaviors based upon misconceptions about the inferiority of races and cultures different from one's own. Emphasis is on clearing up myths and stereotypes associated with different races and ethnic groups. Basic human similarities are stressed. The goal is to develop antiracist behavior based upon awareness of historical and contemporary evidence of individual, institutional and cultural racism in United States society and elsewhere in the world.

Teachers must be relatively free of racial prejudice and ethnocentrism if they are to be effective with students of diverse cultural, racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Although prejudice and ethnocentrism are natural to the human condition, it is assumed that teachers should be less prejudiced and ethnocentric than the average person. Furthermore, it is possible for teachers to become so (Bennett, 1986, pp. 56-70).

Teacher education programs aimed at this goal must help participants to become aware of their own prejudices, which often include racial prejudices. One effective approach is to have participants diagnose their own stage of ethnicity (Banks, 1981), using a self-inventory such as the TSI developed by Margaret Ford (1979). This should be followed up by an introspective writing assignment such as the following:

> Apply James Bank's stages of ethnicity typology to yourself. Choose the stage that best describes you at your present level of ethnicity. Describe those important life experiences and circumstances that help explain where you are in terms of your ethnicity. If you have experienced more than one stage explain why.

Another approach is a modified version of "Faces" (Smith and Ortero, 1977, p. 24) that adds a series of portraits of ethnically diverse citizens in United States society to the original series of Chinese portraits. Some of the lessons learned from this activity are: (1) we all stereotype; (2) both Chinese and US societies are racially and culturally diverse; and (3) humans are more similar than different. These conclusions are particularly noticeable in the Chinese portraits that are often identified as Irish and Afro-American, and in the portrait of a Hopi woman who is often perceived to be Chinese.

Teachers must also be clear about the definitions of culture, race and racism; and the differences between individual, institutional and cultural racism. For example, the terms "race" and "racism" are closely related and often misunderstood. Some teachers (especially Whites) mistakenly believe that simply recognizing a student's race is racist. They can be heard to say, "I love *all* of my children. I don't even know what color they are." Given social reality, to be unaware of a student's race is being dishonest. Granted, we cannot always know if a student is Black or White or Indian, but where race is obvious teachers need to be able to recognize that fact. It is only when teachers lower their expectations, accept stereotypes, or discriminate that racial identity can conjure up negative attitudes and behaviors.

Activities such as "Can You Recognize Racism" (Bennett, 1986, p. 244) can help teachers distinguish between individual, institutional, and cultural racism, and to develop anti-racist strategies as well. Teachers need to be armed with constructive strategies for combatting racism and ethnic prejudice. These would include the ability to detect bias in texts and materials, the ability to handle discussions of racial issues in the school, as well as in society, and the ability to be a genuine person with parents and students of all racial, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds.

Those teacher training programs that serve multicultural populations have a clear advantage in developing this goal, as well as the others. For example, extensive use of cooperative team learning could be used with the teachers and/or teacher candidates themselves. Based upon social contact theory this strategy is known to be an effective way to improve academic achievement and to foster positive racial attitudes in multicultural classrooms. Participants would be practicing a strategy for use in their own future classrooms, while improving their academic achievement and reducing their feelings of racial prejudice.

Successful Teaching of Multicultural Students is the development of the intellectual, social and personal growth of all students to their highest potential. It is based upon the teacher knowledge, attitudes and behaviors required to: (1) provide equitable opportunities for learning; (2) change the monocultural curriculum; and (3) help all students become more multicultural. This goal is highly interactive with the model's other three goals, and provides the primary action component (ie. teaching skills). The focus on teacher knowledge and attitudes is the primary emphasis of the model's first three goals; goal four focuses on multicultural teaching skills that must be included in the broader package of teacher competencies.

First, in order to provide equitable opportunities for learning, teachers must be able to work effectively with heterogeneous groups of students, for multicultural classrooms are inherently heterogeneous. In addition to the individual differences associated with any group of students, (such as entry level skills, aptitudes, interests, learning styles, need for structure, physical and social maturation, socio-economic backgrounds, and personality) there are differences that are associated with culture (such as verbal and nonverbal language, social values, world view, and intellectual modes). Teachers must be able to create an equal status environment in the classroom that builds upon students' individual and cultural strengths. Researchers such as Elizabeth Cohen (1986) and Robert Slavin (1983) have produced guidelines for designing effective group work in heterogeneous classrooms. Both cooperative team learning, as developed by Slavin and his associates, and Cohen's approach to group work have been included in teacher education courses with excellent results. Participants actually experience an equal status environment, and learn the mechanics and rationale behind cooperative group learning. They actually experience conceptual thinking, creative thinking, increased oral language proficiency, and social cooperation, as they develop the classroom management skills needed to use it in their own classrooms.

Slavin has written that cooperative team learning can foster both academic achievement gains and positive racial attitudes among Black and White students in desegregated classrooms, despite racially prejudiced teachers. While these findings attest to the power of team learning, they do not negate the importance of teachers who are fair and unbiased. Other research has shown that when teachers have equal achievement expectations for Black and White students there is more interracial friendship and interaction among the students (Bennett, 1981). This leads to a classroom climate of acceptance and is related to increased student achievement, especially among minorities in the classroom (St. John, 1976; Forehand and Ragosta, 1976).

In order to equalize multicultural students' opportunities to learn, teachers must be cultural mediators (ie. a multicultural person). They must be aware of their own cultural expectations and the expectations of their students, which may be different from their own and/or the school's. They must be able to lessen so-called transitional trauma in the classroom that results from conflicting cultural expectations at home and at school. The theory of cultural pluralism can help teachers establish classroom practices that serve the needs of multicultural students. This theory enables them to set up baseline expectations for learning and behavior that are expected of all students, while making every attempt to lessen the cultural conflict that may result from cultural bias in this base line. Case studies of students who are experiencing transitional trauma in school are an excellent means of developing this ability. "The Case of Jimmy Miller" (Bennett, 1986, pp. 3-4) provides one example.

> Jimmy Miller spent his earliest years in the verdant mountains of Kentucky. He moved to a large industrial city in the Midwest when his father was forced to give up the family farm and found work in an automobile factory.
>
> When Jimmy lived in Kentucky there was no kindergarten and he started school in the first grade. When his family moved north he was placed in kindergarten rather than moving up to the second grade. Jimmy was a shy child who was large for his age, and the notable size difference between him and his classmates became a source of taunting.
>
> Jimmy remembers the first day in his new school. He and his mother were called hillbillies by some of the children; his mother, confused and fearful, was unable to complete all the required forms. The teacher told him the first day that he had better learn to "talk right" and punished him thereafter when he spoke in his dialect, the only language he had known until that time. The school tested his IQ and placed him in the low ability classes. Jimmy was unfamiliar with many of the items on the test. His family didn't "fly planes," "go on vacations," "have company," "take lessons," or "pack luggage." The common, everyday middle-class world was strange and frightening to him.
>
> Today Jimmy is in the ninth grade, waiting to drop out of school. He rarely, if ever, speaks out in class and does poorly in all his academic subjects except math, where, much to the school's amazement, he excels. His general science teacher might be surprised to know that when Jimmy was in the first grade he saw his mother save his sister's life by performing a tracheotomy when medical assistance was unavailable. Jimmy learned much about breeding and raising animals and managing crops from his grandfather, and at age five he grafted his first apple tree. The chorus teacher at school has no idea that Jimmy comes from a family of skilled dulcimer crafters. Jimmy is a gifted performer on the dulcimer, but he thinks no one at school cares about this talent. . . . Jimmy Miller feels alienated in school, he feels a *dichotomy* between school and home.

In addition to providing equitable opportunities in the classroom, teachers need to be skillful in building a multicultural curriculum. They must be able to modify the traditional curriculum that is filled with inaccuracies and omissions concerning the contributions, lifestyles, and experiences of major ethnic groups within our society, as well as for nations across the globe. This means working toward the goal of historical perspectives and cultural consciousness, which is a life-long process. Among teachers the process often does not begin until they feel moved to make a change in the traditional monocultural curriculum. Once this desire is sparked, teacher training programs can facilitate the process by teaching skills in research and curriculum building. Inservice and preservice teachers have worked successfully alone or in teams, using guidelines such as the following.

1. Start small. Begin by selecting one or two ethnic groups, preferably those that hold special meaning for your students, community, and yourself.
2. Plan ways of portraying the diversity within the ethnic group. Include male and female viewpoints; different generations and age groups; dissimilar occupations, geographical regions, socioeconomic backgrounds, neighborhoods, and intergroup experiences.
3. Become informed about this group's perspectives regarding current events and the subject areas you teach. Consult ethnic primary source materials, such as literature, films, art, news media, and music. A list of key questions can help guide the research or you may prefer to avoid preconceptions and let the issues emerge.
4. When social issues are debated, or when students are asked to play roles, include a realistic mix of opinions that portray the different viewpoints within many ethnic groups.
5. Become acquainted with community resources (both people and organizations) in your area that can provide knowledge about this ethnic group. Complete a list of local residents who would be willing to visit your school or be interviewed by students.
6. Examine your texts and supplementary materials for bias.
7. Develop a resource file of primary source materials and teaching strategies that will help you present the group's perspectives to your students. Everything from news articles containing statistics that can be converted into math problems, to songs, speeches, and cartoons can be collected.
8. Select one or more areas of your course in which the group's contributions and viewpoints have been overlooked. Create and teach a lesson that provides more accurate knowledge by including the group's perspectives. (Adapted from Bennett, 1986, pp. 183 and 194.)

In addition to creating a new curriculum, teachers need skills to evaluate extant resource materials. Considerations such as the following can become instructional tools when used as evaluative criteria with even the weakest materials.

1. Look for evidence of ethnocentrism, the view that one's culture is the standard by which other cultures should be judged.
2. Look for evidence that foreign countries are seen too simplistically, with no discussion of the various microcultures within each society. Make the same evaluation with respect to ethnic groups: Are all members of a particular group assumed to share similar ideas, habits, and values, or is the diversity within each group recognized?

3. Consider whether the text presents conflicts between groups, nations, or cultures in an overly simple manner: White settlers versus Indians, the North versus the South during the American Civil War, labor versus management, the Communists versus the "Free World."
4. Watch for subtle suggestions that the so-called advanced civilizations are superior to, or must offer guidance to, less modern societies.
5. Look for evidence of confusion arising from ignorance of specific cultures: for example, traditional Chinese women pictured in the dress of traditional Japanese women.
6. Look for the erroneous use of Western assumptions to evaluate non-Western settings.
7. Consider whether the learner is encouraged to imagine the world as others might see it, to understand the perceptions and interpretations of other cultures.
8. Look for a recognition that, despite cultural differences, people in all societies share the basic similarities of being human (Bennett, 1986, p. 201).

Finally, teachers need to be able to help all students become more multicultural. This conceptual model suggests to teachers ways of helping their students become more multicultural, as they become more so themselves.

Using the Model to Assess Teacher Education

The proposed model of multicultural teacher education can be used to guide the development of (1) a single course in teacher education, (2) a segment, or (3) an entire professional education program that may or may not include the areas of general education and subject matter concentration(s). Ideally, interdisciplinary teams of faculty would collaborate to determine where the goal(s) best fit in the overall program or course(s), which theoretical frameworks and strategies are most compatible with which course(s), what resulant teacher abilities are anticipated, and how ability levels/changes will be determined. The curriculum development strategy below illustrates guidelines for how the model might be implemented with a group of faculty.

Goals of a Multicultural Approach to Teacher Education

PART I. *Individual Work*

Listed below are four goals of a multicultural approach to teaching. Considering the teacher education courses you teach, rank these goals from one to four, with the first indicating the goal you value most and the fourth the goal you value least. (See goal definition sheet attached.)

Work alone first, then discuss your decision with other members of your team and try to reach a consensus as to which goal seems most important. Choose one member of your group to share your decision and reasons with the larger group.

_____ 1. To develop historical perspectives and cultural consciousness
_____ 2. To increase intercultural competence
_____ 3. To reduce racism, prejudice and discrimination
_____ 4. To develop successful teaching skills for multicultural students
_____ 5. Other (please specify)

PART II. *Team Work*

1. The statement we believe identifies the most important multicultural teacher education goal is:
   Our reasons are the following:
   a.
   b.
2. The most important teacher abilities associated with this goal are the following:
   a.
   b.
   c.
3. We suggest the following steps for implementing this goal in teacher education programs:
   a.
   b.
   c.
4. We suggest the following ways of assessing these abilities:
   a.
   b.
   c.

Conclusion

The model proposed in this paper grows out of the extensive multicultural literature that has developed over the past few decades. Extant research, curriculum materials and teacher education programs have addressed one or more of the goals in the model (the titles may differ), although none were found to address all four. The proposed model provides a balanced goals focus that is often missing in multicultural education programs. For example, some approaches may overlook racism (eg. Gibson, 1984), while others build an entire program around anti-racism training.

Various models are possible and needed to help clarify the goals and theoretical frameworks that are integral to multicultural education. Greater clarity will enable us to better assess and develop teacher abilities in multicultural classrooms, which will in turn strengthen the case for multicultural education.

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Part II
Research and Practice

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION: ARE FUTURE TEACHERS PREPARED?

William W. Wayson

Professional ethics and civic morality have always required American teachers to become more knowledgeable about multicultural instruction; but traditional practice and institutional biases have always retarded their doing so. However, ethics and economics have come closer together in the 1980's, making it more imperative than ever that educators become more adept at developing skills for living in a multicultural society and fostering maximum educational quality for more diverse types of students. The need will press educators (or someone else) for action. Few reports tell so clearly what must be done than Hodgkinson's (1985) matter-of-fact presentation of the current demography of school-age children and infants approaching school age. He is not prophesying; the children are already alive, and the distribution of ethnic groups and single-parent families clearly is so different from what schools have formerly served that the nation's economy and its social and political fabric will be severely reduced in quality if schools do not reach new levels of proficiency for teaching heretofore neglected populations.

The need seems clear enough to establish the fact that Colleges of Education have a strong role to play in promoting equitable educational opportunity on a scale heretofore less imperative. Teacher education students must be prepared to deal with "the societal realities of the classroom, which include urbanism, ethnicity, sexism, exceptionality, and culture" (Gay, 1983). With no traditions to support such preparation, many college faculties will have to determine how well their students are being prepared and how effectively their programs are meeting the demands of a pluralistic society. The examination may be painful, especially if taken seriously, and adaptations will challenge business as it is usually done in the halls of academe.

The following is a summary of results from a study funded during 1985-86 by the Affirmative Action Grants Program initiated by the President of the Ohio State University (Wayson and Moultry, 1988). The study was strongly supported by the dean of the college and was intended primarily to promote departmental faculty attempts to improve programs. The data reported here are those that might be useful to educators in other institutions who might also want to assess whether their programs assure equitable professional service to all students in American schools.

What Do Future Teachers Think they Know?

The educator's personal influence over what is taught and learned in schools has been recognized for a long time, and the effect upon poor children has been deplored for many generations. An educator's cultural ignorance affects both minority and majority children in unpredictable, and often undesirable ways.

The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) in 1979 adopted standards to help teachers acquire attitudes and skills for assuring equitable educational opportunities for students from minority populations. The standards required instruction in multicultural education in "courses, seminars, directed readings, laboratory and clinical experiences, practicum, and other types of field experiences." The standards specified that multicultural education could include but would not be limited to experiences which: (1) promote analytical and evaluative abilities to confront issues such as participatory democracy, racism and sexism, and the parity of power; (2) develop skills for values clarification including the study of the manifest and latent transmission of values; (3) examine the dynamics of diverse cultures and the implications for developing teaching strategies; and (4) examine linguistic variations and diverse learning styles as a basis for the development of appropriate teaching strategies (AACTE, 1980a, 1980c).

Though many lists are available such as the one from Justiz and Darling (1980), no precise list of competencies has been developed (nor is any final definitive one likely to be completed) but conceptualizations are necessary, of course to guide action in the area (Grant, 1977). The instrument used in this study drew from many sources (see Noar, 1974; Halverson, 1975; California, 1977; Banks, 1981, 1984; Bennett, 1986; Codianni, 1981; and, Gollnik & Chinn, 1986). Consequently, the statements contained within *The Multicultural Teaching Scale* reflect content and activities that some authorities feel important for professionals who will teach children from diverse cultural backgrounds.

The data are from self-report scales distributed to all students who were student teaching in 1985-86 under the auspices of The College of Education at Ohio State University. Supervisors administered the instruments during debriefing seminars and returned them to the principal investigator. Responses were received from over 90 percent of the students. The instruments suffer the limitations inherent in self-report surveys, and a small number of interviews indicated that the results are somewhat more positive than might be obtained from observations or interviews. Despite the limitations, we are confident that these findings may be used to support attempts to improve teacher (and other educator) preparation.

Students completing student teaching at The Ohio State University College of Education were requested to complete the instrument. They were instructed to circle the number that corresponded to their level of competence in the skill described by the statement. The response format ranged from little competence to extreme competence using a five point scale.

Reported Competence on Strongest Skills

Table 1 presents the 11 skills for which students reported the highest level of competence. The students' responses indicated that the majority believed they were very competent in the provision of multicultural instruction. They believed they could present cultural groups as real people (77 percent), help build mutual respect for different cultures (74 percent), show how diverse cultures have been adopted in mainstream America (65 percent), plan instruction to reduce prejudices (60 percent), identify cultural biases in commercial

Table 1

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Who Reported Themselves as Competent in the Strongest Multicultural Education Skills as Perceived by the Respondents.

	Skill	Little Competence	Extreme Competence
1.	Feeling that every student can learn.	3	86
2.	Help students see cultural groups as real people.	4	77
3.	Present cultural groups in our society in a manner that will build mutual respect.	2	74
4.	Develop activities that increase the self-confidence of minority students.	5	69
5.	Help students recognize that competence is more important than ethnic background.	9	68
6.	Show how mainstream Americans have adopted food, clothing, language, etc. from other cultures.	7	65
7.	Provide instruction showing how prejudice affects individuals.	15	64
8.	Plan instructional activities that reduce prejudice toward other cultural groups.	6	60
9.	Identify cultural biases in commercial materials used in instruction.	10	60
10.	Create a learning environment that allows for alternative styles of learning.	10	59
11.	Be direct in expressing feelings to someone from another culture.	8	58

materials (60 percent) and directly express feelings to someone from another culture (58 percent). Many students also believed they were able to help minorities gain confidence (69 percent), provide instruction to show how prejudice affects all people (64 percent), and help students understand that competence is more important than ethnic background (68 percent). However, the relatively high percent of students who did not feel confident of their ability in these skills, indicates the need for enhancing multicultural abilities.

Even the responses that indicate feelings of competence mask some problems. For example, eighty-six percent of the respondents believed that all students can learn. However, interviews with 20 respondents about why children didn't achieve yielded the same reasons for nonachievement that are given by practicing teachers. Failure to learn was attributed to poor family background, lack of basic skills, lack of personal or family interest in education, family problems, and low intelligence. Respondents believed that these are factors which teachers have no control, indicating widespread belief that children with these problems cannot learn, at least in school.

Reported Competence on the Weakest Skills

Table 2 presents 11 skills for which students reported the lowest level of competence. One in four of the students (25 percent) perceived themselves to have little competence for utilizing ethnic resources in the community. Approximately one in five of the students (22 percent) believed they had little competence to provide instruction for dealing with racial confrontations, to develop materials for multicultural classrooms or to adapt instructional methods to meet the needs of learners from diverse cultures. A similar percent perceived themselves with little competence to demonstrate a basic knowledge of contributions made by minorities (21 percent). Nearly four in ten (38 percent) of the students felt incompetent in their knowledge of different patterns of child rearing practiced among cultures. Less than one-half of the students felt competent in any of the areas listed in the table.

Table 2

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Who Reported Themselves as Competent in the Weakest Multicultural Education Skills as Perceived by the Respondents.

	Skill	Little Competence	Extreme Competence
1.	Know different patterns of child rearing practices among cultures.	38	26
2.	Know the history of minority groups in the United States.	37	24
3.	Visit students' homes in the poor part of town.	31	40
4.	Effectively utilize ethnic resources in the community.	25	31
5.	Provide instructional activities that help students to develop strategies for dealing with racial confrontations.	22	19
6.	Adapt instructional methods to meet the needs of learners from diverse cultures.	22	34
7.	Develop materials appropriate for the multi-cultural classroom.	22	40
8	Demonstrate a basic knowledge of the contributions made by minority groups to our society.	21	23
9.	Deal with prejudice shown by parents.	20	38
10.	Develop instructional methods that dispel myths about ethnic groups.	18	34
11.	Identify the societal forces which influence opportunities for minority group members.	18	44

Feelings of inefficacy may begin with very personal interactions. For example, interviews with 20 students relative to their level of competence in handling prejudice shown by parents indicated that these students feel unable to deal with the prejudice shown by their own father and mother (which was not the point of the item) more than they feel the need to deal with prejudice from their pupils' parents. The finding certainly demonstrates that teacher educators will have to help students deal with their own family pressures as they struggle to examine and develop more pluralistic attitudes. Respondents' failure to respond in terms of their pupils' parental attitudes may reflect their present status as students and not their future roles as teachers. It may also reflect a lack of knowledge that they must communicate with children's parents when they do become teachers.

Reported Competence on Remaining Skills

Table 3 presents 14 skills for which students reported a moderate level of competence. More than one-half of the students believed they could work

Table 3

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Who Reported Themselves as Competent in the Moderate Multicultural Education Skills as Perceived by the Respondents.

	Skill	Little Competence	Extreme Competence
1.	Help students work through problem situations caused by stereotypical attitudes.	12	57
2.	Get students from differing cultures to play together.	5	56
3.	Present diversity of culture as a strong positive feature of American heritage.	8	55
4.	Get students from differing cultures to work together.	10	55
5.	Analyze instructional materials for potential stereotypical attitudes.	8	54
6.	Identify school practices that harm minority students.	8	54
7.	Assist all students to understand the feelings of people from other ethnic groups.	6	53
8.	Help students examine their prejudices.	10	53
9.	Identify how language affects performance on certain test items.	12	52
10.	Identify student behaviors that are indicative of negative racial attitudes.	10	47
11.	Identify the similarities between Anglo-American and other cultures.	12	47
12.	Identify solutions to problems that may arise as the result of cultural diversity.	13	44
13.	Develop instructional methods that promote intercultural cohesiveness.	16	43
14.	Know ways in which various cultures contribute to our pluralistic society.	17	41

through problems caused by stereotypical attitudes (57 percent), get students from different cultures to work or play together (55 and 56 percent), or present diversity of culture as a strong feature of American heritage (55 percent). A majority felt able to analyze instructional material for potential stereotypical attitudes (54 percent), identify school practices that harm minorities (54 percent), help students understand the feelings of other people from other ethnic groups (53 percent), help students examine their own prejudices (53 percent), and identify how language affects results on tests (52 percent).

Fewer than one-half of the students believed themselves competent to identify behaviors that are indicative of negative racial attitudes (47 percent) or to identify similarities between Anglo-American and other cultures (47 percent). A smaller percent believed they knew solutions to problems that may arise as a result of cultural diversity (44 percent), instructional methods that promote intercultural cohesiveness (43 percent), and how various cultures contribute to American society (41 percent).

How Much Do Future Teachers Know About Ethnic Americans?

Another survey entitled *Knowledge About Ethnic History and Culture* was developed to measure the students' ability to answer a selected set of questions concerning minority populations in the United States. Most items on the questionnaire utilized the multiple choice format in which students were presented four probable answers and an "I don't know" response. Their responses were tabulated to show the percentage who answered correctly and who did not know.

Results show that more than two-thirds of the students could not identify two prominent black scientists, Charles Drew and Matthew Henson, and three-fourths could not match Benjamin Banneker with his accomplishments. Slightly more than one-fourth (27 percent) recognized the impact of the *Plessy* decision and only a few more knew the outcome of the *Brown* decision. The majority could identify Martin Luther King from two descriptors, while 70 percent knew that the initials NAACP identified the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. More than nine in ten (92 percent) chose wrong responses to the question about the first European settlement in what is now the United States, and 89 percent chose a wrong person as the first person to die in the American Revolution. Only 5 percent of the students knew that many Germans came to the United States in the late 1800's to escape the draft. Approximately one-half (46 percent) had incorrect negative impressions of the Cubans who immigrated in the 1960's. Only one-third correctly identified a strength of the Appalachian culture or selected a true statement about Native Americans when given four choices for each.

Although no one would argue that all people should know all of the items used on this survey, the responses indicate a serious lack of knowledge about ethnic groups, their culture, their history, and their participation in, or contributions to, American life. While most Americans lack knowledge in these areas, ignorance among educators inhibits curriculum and instruction that will foster a pluralistic society. It also stands as a barrier to effective instruction and equal educational opportunity for children from minority cultures.

Conclusions and Recommendations

All students entering any professional capacity in any educational institution should exhibit at least the skills listed in the Multicultural Teaching Scale (see Tables 1-3) and those required to meet NCATE standards. Many students are graduating without basic skills, attitudes and knowledge for promoting equal educational opportunity and preparing students to participate effectively in a just and fair society. Therefore, professors and other instructors bear responsibility for developing and/or redesigning courses and activities to insure that students learn those skills, attitudes and knowledge. Faculty and graduate instructors should be encouraged to experiment to develop more effective courses and programs for improving educators' performance with children from diverse cultural backgrounds. No research agenda may be as important for the profession or for society. The following recommendations will enhance the multicultural preparation of prospective teachers.

Provide More Effective Learning Experiences. Lack of professional expertise among graduates could be ameliorated if colleges of education were to enact measures to insure that all students are: (1) required to take courses relating to minority history and cultures; (2) placed in school environments which allow them to interact with both effective and ineffective teachers; (3) scheduled in educational settings where personal interaction is encouraged and discussion guided by an instructor knowledgeable in multicultural educational problems; (4) assigned the task of developing tests that demonstrate a sensitivity to different learning styles and language barriers; (5) provided an array of educational materials from which they will select those most beneficial to a multicultural classroom; and (6) allowed to spend time with key school personnel for the purpose of discovering the climate of a school, observing group dynamics in action, and noting how changes are made in a school environment.

Avoid Intellectualizing the Issue. One can read about, talk about, and be tested about something without incorporating any of it into one's attitudes or skills. Courses and experiences designed for professional development must go beyond dealing with multicultural issues solely in intellectual or cognitive terms and must bring students into contact with persons from different cultures in ways that cause them to examine both new perspectives and one's own, eliciting both a broader personal perspective and more effective professional ability.

Improve Field Experiences and Prepare Instructors. When developing sites for field experiences, care should be taken to select schools in which prospective educators can observe instruction and administration where bias has been conscientiously eliminated and where models are demonstrating what true multicultural education can achieve. Contact filtered only through the student's or other's unexamined and unchallenged biases can be at best as unproductive as no contact.

Each year, the college should acquaint all teachers and administrators who interact with student teachers or students engaged in field experiences with multicultural goals and provide training to assist them to reinforce those goals in their contacts with students. School programs also should be positively affected by such efforts.

Prepare Instructors. Experience is effective, but examined experience is far more effective at teaching multicultural knowledge and understanding at the level required by teachers. The experience is most powerful if it is examined under the tutelage of instructors who have deep knowledge and understanding of multicultural education.

Most faculty members are not selected for having multicultural experience or expertise, nor are they likely to have quality personal experience to prepare them to help students such as those who responded to the instruments. The University and the College should provide technical assistance and professional development experiences for faculty members who feel or demonstrate need for professional development in this area. As a pool for talent is developed, staff members who possess expertise should be used to help both faculty members and students develop necessary skills and knowledge. Audiovisual and library resources should also be readily available.

All graduate teaching assistants or other instructors should be oriented to multicultural goals and should receive training for teaching and reinforcing those goals in all their contacts with students. Instructors should have systematic and open channels for feeding back their needs to program personnel who are responsible for enhancing effectiveness.

Recruit to Enhance Multicultural Goals. Recruiting minority students and faculty is imperative for meeting the demands of equal educational opportunity both for the recruits and for minority school children. Such recruitment is imperative for assuring that the College's students have a multicultural preparation and for providing faculty with incentives to improve instruction relative to multicultural education. Minority persons should not be held responsible, any more than others, for promoting greater multicultural efficacy in college programs, but their presence can create a model pluralistic setting and stimulate the entire faculty and all students to contribute to the effect.

Being a member of a minority group may make a person a better role model for both minority and majority children, but membership in a culturally different group is not sufficient for tutoring students toward cultural diversity or for understanding the teacher's ethnic group better. Assuming that culturally different teachers are automatically prepared to teach culturally different children is a stereotyped view that shows little understanding of the process by which persons escape the confines of their own heritage to respect and understand others.

Establish The Policy Climate. The Dean's staff, the Senate, and Department (and School) chairpersons must establish a climate that reinforces the importance of multicultural education. All decision-makers in the university and college should demonstrate expectations that all programs should adhere to the spirit of the multicultural standards developed by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1980d). This can be done without violating faculty autonomy by communicating the concern to chairpersons and faculty members, by initiating programs to inform faculty and other staff, by appointing task forces or committees to assess and to make recommendations about multiculturally related issues in the College, by collecting information about the status of multicultural education in the College and its programs, by publicizing the results of those assessments to as wide an audience as possible, and by more broadly utilizing the skills and knowledge of faculty members who are effective in multicultural education.

The Provost, the Dean's staff, department chairpersons, and faculty personnel committees should clearly establish that contributions to improved multicultural education are priorities for the university and college by requiring such contributions as tenure, promotion and merit salary decisions are made. If such incentives can draw faculty energies toward writing in refereed journals, they could be used just as powerfully to promote improvements in multicultural education.

The checklists of effective practices developed for multiculturally effective elementary and secondary schools by Forehand and Ragosta (1975) should be adapted and used to assess programs and practices in the College of Education. Prospective teachers probably did not experience effective multicultural practices when they went to high school; therefore, it is imperative to have them learn by experiencing them during their professional preparation.

Reap the Larger Returns. Adopting these recommendations is independent of whether one believes that minorities should be assimilated into a melting pot or that schools should promote ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism. The act of teaching depends upon the teacher's authentic respect for the learner and the learner's sufficient respect for the teacher to attend to instruction. Bridging cultural biases and barriers is essential to teaching any person from whatever background; consequently, these recommendations are merely those that would strengthen teacher preparation for all students, not merely for those teaching children from minority or neglected cultures.

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SENIOR EDUCATION STUDENTS' ATTITUDES ABOUT MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Murphy Moultry

> Mother of Exiles, from her beacon' hand glows world-wide
> welcome, her mild eyes command the air-bridged harbor that
> twin cities frame. 'Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!'
> cries she with silent lips. Give me your tired, your poor, your
> huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse
> of your teeming shore. Send them, the homeless, tempest-
> tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!'
> Emma Lazarus "New Colossus" 1883

Emma Lazarus' inscription sent forth a message to Europeans that the shores of America were open to those seeking a new beginning. Her message was heard, and between the years of 1880 and 1915 the United States welcomed between 35 and 40 million immigrants. Since its population in 1880 was about 60 million, absorbing such a huge number of immigrants, unprecedented in the history of the world, was indeed a most difficult task (Kurg, 1977a). The methodology and ideology utilized from 1880-1915 to acculturate this massive and diverse immigration of people was deeply internalized by the American people. The ideology was developed from White Anglo-Saxon Protestant ethics and it was delivered through social norms, political actions, religious affiliations and educational teachings.

This report describes how remnants of this ideology were reflected in 1986 in the opinions of students about to enter the teaching profession. The report focuses primarily on (1) the results of Multicultural Opinion Surveys administered to senior education students enrolled in student teaching at the Ohio State University's College of Education during the 1985-86 school year and (2) the recommendations made by a Senate Subcommittee on Multicultural Education (Wayson & Moultry, 1988).

The historical development of America's ideology governing new ethnic groups was an evolution from Americanization to cultural pluralism. A common and consuming task for this nation's early leaders was to develop methods for assimilating a great migration of diverse people without totally disrupting the developing but fragile American culture. Madison Grant, a prominent anthropologist and philanthropist, in his book, *The Passing of the Great Race* (1914), characterized the first stage of the method as "Americanization." The process of Americanization required European immigrants to give up their old ways and assimilate into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. Ellwood Cubberley, a leading educator, lent his support to the Americanization process by demanding that public schools lead the way in the process of Americanization (1909). The Americanization scheme was conceived for white Europeans; blacks, Asians and Native Americans were not to be included (Garcia, 1982a).

The Americanization scheme caused a number of ethnic groups to reject their own language and culture. Poles gave up their Polish parochial schools and demanded that their priests preach in English so their children could understand the sermons. Greeks insisted that their priests learn and use English in the services. Jews introduced radical changes in their religious observances including: (1) the Jewish Reform movement attempted to make synagogues compatible with the American environment; (2) prayers in the new Reform prayerbook were predominantly in English; (3) the rabbi became not only a spiritual leader of his congregation but also its representative to the general community; and (4) in 1909 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations adopted a platform which declared "America is our Zion" (Krug, 1977b). Even with such "successes" the Americanization scheme experienced some problems in preserving the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant dominant culture.

The influx of immigrants from south-eastern and central Europe, who did not share the same Protestant ethics as their European cousins, reduced the effectiveness of the Americanization scheme and caused the birth of the "Melting Pot" theory. The "Melting Pot" theory was developed by Israel Zangwill, a British writer. Zangwill illustrated his philosophy in a popular Broadway play entitled, *The Melting Pot* (1910). In the melting pot theory, Zangwill rejected the notion that the Anglo-Saxon culture is superior to others and repudiated the need for immigrants to turn their backs on their own culture. Zangwill wanted all cultures—those of the native population and those of the immigrants—to fuse and melt in order to create a superior and uniquely American culture. As practiced, the melting pot theory reduced the Americanization scheme's requirement for Europeans to abandon their former culture. Blacks, Native Americans and Asians, however, continued to be excluded from the mixture.

Many of the old guard who believed in the Americanization scheme were displeased with the melting pot theory. The increasing number of "undesirable" immigrants influenced passage of the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924. This Act drastically reduced the number of immigrants permitted annual entry and brought the era of mass immigration to an end. Those who framed the Johnson-Reed Act believed they had ended once and for all the threat to Anglo-Saxon cultural and political domination (Montalto, 1982). Little did they understand or comprehend that seeds of cultural discontent had been planted that would spring to life and create problems for future generations to resolve. However, those believers in the Americanization scheme left an indelible mark on the American cultural, educational and political evolution.

While many of the early twentieth century's renowned sociologists and philosophers (Fairchild, Boas, Wirth, Parks and others) favored the Americanization scheme over the melting pot theory, Horace Kallen saw as early as the 1920's the need for a more practical approach to the relationship between the dominant society and ethnic groups (Kallen, 1924). He set forth his ideas in a theory called "Cultural Pluralism." Kallen's cultural pluralism contained three basic themes. First, people had no choice but to belong to their ethnic group of birth; most people inherited a family which belonged to some ethnic group and the family would socialize its youth into that ethnic group. Second, cultural pluralism was congruent with the democratic, American way of life. It allowed people to be different and yet be American. Third, cultural pluralism, according to Kallen, provided unity within diversity. He argued that it was possible for a society to be diverse as well as unified and that society could benefit from such diversity (Garcia, 1982b).

Although Kallen perceived his cultural pluralism theory as a blending of diverse European cultures into one unique American culture, the concept was later changed by such writers as Novak, Mikulski, Fein and others who perceived America as a multicultural nation (Krug, 1977c). These writers often described cultural pluralism as a "salad bowl." Those in favor of this concept viewed the American society as a salad bowl in that each ethnic group could retain its identity while contributing to the overall society.

The many social forces that propelled the evolution of the acculturation schemes have had and continue to have a profound impact on the way in which public schools educate students. A unique view of the importance of the public school role in the acculturation process is discussed in the book titled, *Planning and Organizing for Multicultural Instruction* (Baker, 1983). In this book Baker expresses the belief that since public schools have failed to provide all students with learning that considers the diverse backgrounds of the population, the nonminority student is perhaps the most disadvantaged person in today's society. This assertion is based on her belief that most nonminority children have been led to believe that their cultural values are the only values that really matter. This thinking has fostered the feeling that those who deviate from the dominant culture are thought to be ill-mannered, to lack culture, and to be inferior. Although such thinking may have been portrayed as being appropriate by Cubberley and Grant for the Americanization period, teaching and accepting such a concept has placed the dominant nonminority population in an awkward position when confronted with the diverse cultures of today's world. Having fostered such an attitude, the schools are now being charged with the responsibility for changing those restrictive attitudes and providing children with accurate and positive images of all people.

Until recently, public schools and all other areas of American society had been able to resist or to ignore the minority groups' push to be granted equal rights and recognition. The civil rights movement of the early 1960's forced white America to recognize the rights, contributions and culture of blacks, Asians, Hispanics and Native Americans. William Van Til, in the foreword to *Intergroup Relations for the Classroom Teacher* (Epstein, 1966) summarized the climate and the needs of the early sixties in the following manner:

> In our times, the long hot summers of civil disorder and the long cold winters of racial unrest deeply trouble thoughtful Americans. The residents of a United States of America which is not sufficiently united teeter on the brink of separatism. Today we are reaping the bitter harvest of a social problem with roots deep in the American past.
>
> Issues in human relations have become inescapable. Dealing with intergroup relations through American schools today is no longer a matter of teaching preference. Instead, the achievement of better human relations through education is an imperative necessity which is vital to national welfare and to the development of individual human beings.

Either out of concern for national welfare, sincere interest in the development of human beings or appeasement of social pressure, ethnic studies were introduced into the public school curriculum. The educational literature of the late sixties refers to the study of ethnic history and literature as "ethnic studies," "ethnic minority education," "ethnic education," and, finally "multiethnic education" (Baker, 1977). The multiethnic education curriculum introduced into public schools and universities laid the foundation for multicultural education. The more widely diffused multiethnicity became, the more pressure was placed on dominant White Protestants to acknowledge cultural diversity. Educators and significant others began to build on the concept of ethnic diversity, and cultural pluralism became a fashionable term by the mid-seventies.

Touched by the positive attributes of the multicultural education movement, the Board of Directors of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE) in November, 1972, officially adopted the "No One Model American Statement." Adopting this statement affirmed the Board of Directors' position that cultural pluralism is more than a temporary accommodation to placate racial and ethnic minorities. The ideological message sent forth with this statement was that cultural pluralism aims toward a heightened sense of being and of wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of its various groups (Davis, 1973). The values of cultural pluralism were to be transmitted by teaching multicultural education. In keeping with the intent of the "No One Model American Statement," AACTE suggested that multicultural education should do the following: (1) reject the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences; (2) affirm that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children through programs rooted in the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives; (3) recognize cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society; and (4) affirm that cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended (Davis, 1973b).

Just as Cubberley thought schools should lead the way in the Americanization scheme, AACTE envisioned colleges and universities engaged in the preparation of teachers having a central role in the positive development of a culturally pluralistic society. The National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), in agreement with the thoughts expressed by the AACTE, incorporated multicultural education into its teaching standards in 1979. Adopting such standards on the part of NCATE meant that 80 percent of the nation's teacher education institutions were required to include multicultural courses, labs, seminars and/or experiences for students in their training programs. If no multicultural courses or experiences were offered or they failed to meet the NCATE's established standards, the educational program could lose its accreditation (Rodriguez, 1984).

The purpose of such standards were to insure that teachers would be able to:

1. help children develop positive gender, racial, cultural, class, and individual identities and to recognize and accept their membership in many different groups;
2. enable children to see themselves as part of the larger society; to identify, empathize, and relate with individuals from other groups;

3. foster respect and appreciation for the diverse ways in which other people live;
4. encourage in young children's earliest social relationships an openness and interest in others, a willingness to include others, and a desire to cooperate;
5. promote the development of a realistic awareness of contemporary society, a sense of social responsibility, and an active concern that extends beyond one's immediate family or group;
6. empower children to become critical analysts and activists in their social environment;
7. support the development of educational and social skills that are needed for children to become full participants in the larger society in ways that are most appropriate to individual styles, cultural orientations, and linguistic backgrounds; and
8. promote effective and reciprocal relationships between schools and families (Ramsey, 1987).

The intent of the standards are commendable and the machinery to enforce such goals is being developed. However, teacher training institutions and school organizations are still steeped in the ideology of the Americanization or melting pot scheme and have not moved into the cultural pluralism era.

The Ohio State University College of Education devised several programs to train its teacher candidates to teach from a multicultural perspective. The College Senate in 1985 assessed its multicultural education program and discovered that it failed to meet NCATE's standards. The Senate also created a Subcommittee on Multicultural Education to promote better multicultural offerings.

The Senate Subcommittee on Multicultural Education operationalized its charge by gathering students' opinions about multicultural education. The Subcommittee designed four survey instruments to be administered to all seniors who were involved in student teaching during the 1985-86 school year. The intent of the surveys was to obtain data from this group of students about their multicultural opinions and knowledge. This data base could be used to stimulate faculty to devise programs and actions that would enable the College of Education to better prepare teachers who could provide multicultural educational experiences when they entered classrooms (Wayson, 1985a).

The survey was conducted in the following sequence. First, equal proportions of the surveys were distributed to the student teachers' supervisors who gave them to the students in random fashion. Second, the supervisors administered the instruments during the last two weeks of each quarter, collected them directly from the students upon completion, and returned them to the principal investigator. The total response rate exceeded 90 percent, and each of the surveys was completed by one-fourth of the 700 respondents. Since each fourth was a random sample of the whole, the results may be safely inferred for the whole group. However, they may not be representative of graduates from other years or other institutions. Results were computerized for analysis, and tables were developed to display the data (Wayson, 1985b).

This report is limited to a discussion of the data obtained from the Multicultural Opinion Survey Forms #1 and #2. Form #1 contained 40 items describing attitudes about minority populations and issues related to minorities in the United States. Form #2 contained 36 similar items. The two short forms were used to encourage high response rates. The results of these surveys reveal the expressed attitudes of 1985-86 prospective teachers from Ohio State University's College of Education toward minority populations and toward issues related to educating those populations.

The students were requested to answer each statement by selecting a numbered response representing the degree to which they believed the statement. One corresponded to no belief, a 2 corresponded to little belief, and a 4 or 5 corresponded to great or total belief. In each of the tables presented on the following pages, the column labeled "Do Not Believe" is the percentage of those circling 1 or 2; the column labeled "Do Believe" is the percentage of those circling 4 or 5. The data and analysis for the following Multicultural Opinion Survey tables were derived from Wayson and Moultry's report (1987).

Analysis of the Multicultural Opinion Survey Form #1

Most Believed Statements

Table 1 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements that were believed by more than 49 percent of the respondents. A large proportion of the students (72 percent) expressed a belief that multicultural education was to promote justice and fairness in society and 51 percent felt that schools could alleviate race problems by improving instruction. Two-thirds (66 percent) agreed that teachers should help minority students achieve a better opinion of themselves. Nearly four of every five (79 percent) believed that prejudice hurts the minority as much as it hurts the one who is prejudiced, and 53 percent agreed that ethnic jokes are in bad taste. Three of every five (63 percent) believed they could talk to a minority student with almost the same ease as they could talk to a white student, and 72 percent reported no difficulty talking with members of minority groups. A majority of the students (58 percent) believed that whites controlled most of the resources. Nearly half (49 percent) supported governmental attempts to promote equality by helping those groups which suffer discrimination. The majority (56 percent) expressed the belief that race relations would be better if institutions would work to end separation.

Least Believed Statements

Table 2 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements that were not believed by 50 percent or more of the respondents. Most of the students (93 percent) did not perceive that races should be kept separate, and three in five (63 percent) believed that better race relations did not require teaching minorities how to act. Three-fourths (76 percent) did not believe that blacks and chicanos want to "move too fast." From 50 to 56 percent of the students believed that they had experienced a real conversation with a poor hispanic or appalachian person and 92 percent believed they had experienced a real conversation with a black person. Eighty-seven percent would not refuse to visit a home in the inner-city, though only 61 percent of the students believed they would be comfortable making such a visit.

Most of the students (92 percent) did not believe people to be basically bad. Nearly two-thirds (63 percent) felt that ethnic jokes hurt someone. When

Table 1

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Responding to the Most Believed Statements About Multicultural Education

Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1. Prejudice against minority groups hurts the people who are prejudiced as well as hurting the minority groups.	7	79
2. The long term goal of multicultural education is to create a society where justice and fairness are the most important values.	8	72
3. I have no difficulty talking with members of minority groups.	11	72
4. Teachers must help minority children get a better opinion of themselves.	10	66
5. I can talk to a minority student just the way I would talk to a white student.	20	63
6. Whites control most of the resources of the country.	16	58
7. Race relations would be better if institutions work to end separations.	17	56
8. Ethnic jokes are in poor taste.	20	53
9. Race problems can be improved by improving the way schools teach minority students.	20	51
10. Government should promote equality by helping those groups who are discriminated against in society.	13	49

asked to answer statements related to education, 63 percent of the students did not perceive busing as the only way to insure a good education for black students, and 73 percent did not believe that busing helped blacks but harmed whites. Slightly more than half (55 percent) disagreed with the statement that they would "never want to teach in an inner-city school," but 21 percent said they never would.

Responses to Remaining Statements

Table 3 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements from Form #1 not included in Tables 1 and 2. These statements fall within the middle range of agreement for this population. Legally-supported affirmative action was not supported by a majority of the students (29 percent), 44 percent believed it should be supported, 33 percent thought it could make organizations better places to work, and 24 percent perceived it as morally right. One fourth (24 percent) agreed that it requires

Table 2

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Responding to the Least Believed Statements About Multicultural Education

	Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1.	Race in this country would best be kept separated.	93	6
2.	I have never held a real conversation with a black person.	92	3
3.	People are basically bad.	92	2
4.	I find it difficult to talk with people of another race.	88	2
5.	I would refuse to visit a home in an inner-city area.	87	3
6.	Blacks and Chicanos want to move too fast.	76	4
7.	Busing may help black students but it is harmful for whites.	73	6
8.	Busing is the only way to help large numbers of minority students get a good education.	63	11
9.	Race relations would be better if minorities were taught to act the way most people do.	63	9
10.	Ethnic jokes don't hurt anybody.	63	9
11.	I would be uncomfortable visiting a home in an inner-city area.	61	14
12.	I have never held a real converesation with a poor Hispanic person.	56	32
13.	I would never want to teach in an inner-city school.	55	21
14.	Race relations are a problem because minorities are not able to compete with others.	52	17
15.	Affirmative action is worthless because the people in control are not going to hire minority people.	51	8
16.	I have never held a real conversation with a poor Appalachian.	50	36

employers to hire unqualified people; one in twleve (8 percent) believed it was worthless because the people in control were not going to hire minorities; and 6 percent stated the law should be changed.

Responding to statements about education, 34 percent of the future educators believed busing was harmful to both black and white students and 11 percent thought busing was the only way to assist minority students in receiving a good education. Almost three in ten (28 percent) stated that mi-

Table 3

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Responding to Statements About Multicultural Education

	Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1.	We should support affirmative action.	9	44
2.	Anyone can be successful in the United States if they will work diligently and live frugally.	21	45
3.	Busing is harmful for both minority and majority students.	42	34
4.	Affirmative action can make organizations better places to work for everyone involved.	19	33
5.	Affirmative action should be supported because it is the law.	23	29
6.	Militant minority groups have to be controlled or violence will erupt.	38	28
7.	The main reason Appalachian children can't do better in school is their familites don't value education.	40	28
8.	Minorities in the United States are disadvantaged because schools and other social institutions do not serve them well.	43	28
9.	Affirmative action is good because it is morally right.	21	24
10.	Affirmative action requires employers to hire unqualified people.	36	24
11.	Normal way of operating in the United States discriminates against black people.	42	21
12.	Item (5) is true but we should change the law.	25	6
13.	Inner-city people are mostly black.	46	1

norities are disadvantaged because schools and other social institutions do not serve them well. The same proportion indicated that Appalachian students cannot do better in school because their families do not value education.

When questioned on their personal beliefs about blacks and minorities, only 1 percent of the students thought that inner-city people are mostly black; 21 percent believed that the normal way of operating in the United States discriminates against black people; 28 percent believed that militant minority groups must be controlled or violence will erupt; and 17 percent perceived race relations as a problem because minorities are unable to compete with others. Slightly less than half (45 percent) believed that anyone can be successful in the United States if s(he) works diligently and lives frugally.

Analysis of Multicultural Opinion Survey Form #2
Most Believed Statements

Table 4 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements that were believed by more than 50% of the respond-

Table 4

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Responding to the Most Believed Statements About Multicultural Education

Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1. A very important factor for promoting high achievement among any group of students is the teacher's belief that the children can learn.	2	92
2. An important factor for successfully mixing children from several races, economic levels or ethnic groups in schools is the teacher's commitment to making it successful.	5	84
3. A teacher or a counselor who believes a minority student to be a poor scholar will soon have the student acting like a poor scholar.	10	77
4. One important factor for successfully mixing children from several races or ethnic groups is the ability to discuss their differences openly.	9	70
5. Teachers neglect children of ethnic minorities when they don't teach them what they teach others.	16	70
6. Changing the attitudes of the professional staff who work in schools improves the learning rate of minority group children.	14	65
7. Anyone can be successful in the United States today (regardless of race or color) if (s)he is willing to work hard.	18	60
8. Misdeeds by minority children are more likely to be generalized to the group than they would be if committed by white students.	15	53

ents. A majority of the students expressed a belief in the school staff's ability to make a difference in the academic achievement of minority students. Nine-tenths (92 percent) stated that an important factor for promoting high achievement among any group of students is the teacher's belief that the children can learn. Nearly eight in ten (77 percent) expressed the opinion that a teacher or a counselor who believes a minority student to be a poor scholar will soon have the student acting like a poor scholar. Two-thirds (65 percent) thought that changing the attitudes of professional staff improved the learning rate of minority students, and 70 percent believed that teachers neglect minority children when they do not teach them what they have taught others. Furthermore, 84 percent of the students believed that children from several racial, economic and/or ethnic backgrounds could be successfully integrated if the teacher was committed to making the integration successful, while 70 percent believed this to be possible if the teacher openly discussed minority differences. More than half (53 percent) of the students perceived that misdeeds by a minority child would be generalized to the group while a misdeed committed by a white student would not be generalized. A total of 60 percent believed that anyone (regardless of race) can be successful in the United States if s(he) was willing to work hard.

Least Believed Statements

Table 5 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements that were not believed by more than 50 percent of the respondents. Most students surveyed did not believe that women were too

Table 5

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Responding to the Least Believed Statements About Multicultural Education

Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1. Women are too emotional for high-level policy making jobs.	90	4
2. Mexican-Americans have no respect for time.	85	2
3. Minority children can't do as well in school as majority children.	82	10
4. Most minority pupils don't appreciate getting extra help.	79	8
5. Public opinion and state laws generally assured that most slaves received good treatment.	78	1
6. Women are not included in history books as often as men because they haven't much history to report.	73	8
7. Most welfare children are illegitimate.	69	7
8. American Indians are usually unable to adjust to modern culture.	66	6
9. Children must be taught clearly defined sex roles or they will be sexually troubled as adults.	64	9
10. The low intelligence of minority children causes poor oral expression.	62	14
11. Men should bear the major responsibility for supporting a family.	61	16
12. Most welfare families are black.	53	15

emotional for high level policy making jobs (90 percent), Mexican-Americans had no respect for time (85 percent), minority children did not appreciate extra help (79 percent), and minority children could not do as well in school as majority children (82 percent). Nearly two-thirds of the students (62 percent) did not believe that poor oral expression indicated proof of low intelligence. More than two-thirds (69 percent) disagreed that most welfare children are illegitimate. About the same proportion (64 percent) felt that children did not need to learn clearly defined sex roles to escape being sexually troubled adults. Nearly three-fourths (73 percent) did not believe that lack of accomplishment was the cause of women's exclusion from history books. Six in ten (61 percent) did not think that a man must bear major responsibility for supporting a family. A majority of the students (78 percent) did not believe that public opinion or state laws protected the slaves. Two-thirds (66 percent) did not believe the American Indian was unable to adjust to modern society.

Teacher trainers should note that 8 percent of these respondents believed that minority children do not appreciate help, one in ten (10 percent) believed that minority children could not do as well as majority children, and one in seven (14 percent) believed that minority children had low intelligence that caused poor oral expression. One in seven (15 percent) also believed that most welfare families were black. These ideas reflect stereotyping and/or a lack of information that could seriously impair instruction and learning.

Responses to Remaining Statements

Table 6 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements from Form #2 not included in Tables 4 and 5. These statements fall within the middle range of agreement for this population. More than one-third of the students (36 percent) stated that each individual in the United States is able to rise to his/her innate ability and 37 percent thought that most able-bodied unemployed minorities could find jobs if they really want to. But, 23 percent of the students did not believe that the "melting pot" has worked well for blacks, Asians and American Indians. Nearly half (45 percent) thought that placing a minority person in a position for which s(he) had been inadequately trained perpetuated racial discrimination and 46 percent agreed that a failure to act when an injustice had been committed against a minority person is a racist act. Only one in five (22 percent) believed that the black crime rate is caused by economic and political deprivation, while one in three (35 percent) said they did not believe deprivation to be the cause.

Fewer than half (44 percent) agreed that poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by the lack of visible and felt student belongingness, unsolved discrepancies between school personnel and parents regarding the purpose of school (32 percent), or lack of staff knowledge about minority students, their culture or community (36 percent). Disagreement may reflect a belief in other causes, a lack of sympathy with minority problems or a lack of knowledge about indirect, non-proximate explanations for human behavior.

Even fewer (28 percent) agreed that poor achievement in newly desegregated schools is caused by differences between parents' and school personnel's view of what should be occurring in schools, ineffective communication among staff members (34 percent), and staff failure to see positive features of the school (21 percent). A few more (45 percent) believed that achievement

Table 6

Percent of 1985-86 Ohio State University Senior Education Students Responding to Statements About Multicultural Education

Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1. Failure to act against injustice to minorities is a racist act.	17	46
2. Curricula and textbooks generally ignore the contributions of minorities.	25	45
3. To put a minority person in a position for which (s)he has been inadequately trained perpetuates racial discrimination.	20	45
4. Poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by lack of visible and felt student belongingness in the school.	18	44
5. Teachers should be required to take courses in racism awareness.	20	41
6. Most of the able-bodied, unemployed minority persons could find jobs if they really wanted to.	24	37
7. In the United States each individual is able to rise to the level of her/his own innate ability.	26	36
8. Poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by lack of staff knowledge about minority students, their culture, or their community.	32	36
9. Poor achievement among minority students is caused by ineffective communication among staff members to solve, as opposed to complain about problems.	24	34
10. Poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by unresolved discrepancies between school personnel and parents' view of what should be occurring in the school.	23	32
11. Poor achievement among minority students is caused by differences between school personnel and parents' view of what should be occurring in the school.	23	28
12. The "melting pot" concept has helped American Indians, blacks and Chinese to move into the mainstream of American life.	39	23
13. You must notice race before you can create a situation in which race does not matter.	40	23
14. Black crime rates are caused by the political and economic deprivation of black Americans.	35	22
15. Poor achievement among minority students is caused by staff's failure to see positive features of the school.	36	21

might improve if curricula and textbooks recognized the contributions of minorities, and teachers were required to take courses in racism awareness (41 percent). Only one in five (23 percent) agreed that teachers must notice race before they can create an environment in which race does not matter.

Conclusions

On the basis of the students' responses to the Multicultural Opinion Survey Forms #1 and #2, one can draw the following conclusions about the student teachers and the preparation they had received.

1. Students showed a lack of empathy with minority problems in regards to institutional racism.
2. Students demonstrated a lack of knowledge about indirect, nonproximate causes for human actions.
3. Students expressed a lack to confidence in education and politics as mechanisms to effect changes in the ways people think and act relative to pluralistic values (Wayson & Moultry, 1988).

Recommendations

Based on the results obtained from the Multicultural Opinion Surveys and the conclusions reached, Wayson and Moultry (1988) made the following recommendations to the Ohio State University Senate Committee. The stated recommendations may be applicable to all Colleges of Education graduates.

1. Students should examine their own attitudes and beliefs about various ethnic groups, sex-groupings, races and religions, and feel confident about delivering educational services to them.
2. Students should see positive features about the school, the students, their culture and the community in which they live.
3. Students should make home visits and move with confidence through the neighborhoods in which their children live.
4. Students should translate the goals and objectives of the schools to parents and others in ways that enlist their support.
5. Students should respect the positive features of diverse cultures.
6. Students should comprehend how prejudice and discrimination affects society, victims and perpetrators (p. 36,37).

Achieving these recommendations will require professors and teaching assistants to develop or redesign courses and activities to insure that students are exposed to appropriate multicultural information and positive cultural pluralism activities. The Ohio State recommendations could be operationalized in the following manner.

1. All students enrolled in the College of Education should have at least one course with content specifically addressing different cultural groups.
2. Monies should be budgeted to plan and implement in-service programs to inform and assist faculty members to include multicultural education content in their courses.
3. Field experiences that deal specifically with multicultural populations should be part of courses with multicultural education content.

4. The College of Education should employ more ethnic and racial minority personnel as members of the faculty and staff.
5. The College of Education should actively recruit ethnic and racial minority students (Wayson, 1985b).

Unlike Emma Lazarus' poem "New Colossus" which welcomed Europeans to the American shores to be free and Americanized, the message for today is found in Jean Toomer's "The Blue Meridian."

> Unlock the races,
> Open this pod by outgrowing it,
> Free men from this prison and this shrinkage,
> Not from the reality itself
> But from our prejudices and preferences
> And the enslaving behavior caused by them,
> Eliminate these---
> I am, we are, simply of the human race.
>
> Uncase the nations,
> Open this pod by outgrowing it,
> Keep the real but destroy the false,
> We are of the human nation.
>
> Uncase the regions---
> Occidental, Oriental, North, South---
> We are of Earth.
>
> Free the sexes
> From the penalties and proscriptions
> That allegedly are laid on us
> Because we are male or female.
>
> Unlock the classes,
> Emerge from these pockets;
> I am, we are, simply of human class.
>
> Expand the fields, the specializations,
> The limitations of occupation,
> The definitions of what we are
> That gain fractions and lose wholes---
> I am of the field of being,
> We are beings. . . .
>
> Uncase, upod whatever blocks, until,
> Having realized pure consciousness of being,
> Knowing that we are beings
> Co-existing with others in an inhabited universe,
> We will be free to use rightly with reason
> Our own and other human functions---
> Free men,whole men, men connected
> With one another and with Deity.

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MULTICULTURAL ATTITUDES AND KNOWLEDGE OF EDUCATION STUDENTS AT A MIDWESTERN UNIVERSITY, 1987

A. Reynaldo Contreras

Introduction

The nation's mood in the 80's has produced a serious challenge for educators preparing teachers to serve our children of the 1990's. These children of the 1990's enrolled in our schools will be of distinct ethno-racial backgrounds, with distinct ethno-linguistic characteristics, from distinct ethno-religious persuasions and from different socio-economic classes. These are the children who will challenge the knowledge, attitudes, skills and creativity of our teachers (Hodgkinson, 1985).

We are compelled to ask "why is this a dilemma?" First, these future youth of our country, off-spring of "at-risk" youth of the 80's, who are experiencing little success in schools and as a consequence are leaving schools with little, if any, chance of becoming successful members of our communities. Second, as in the past, schools and the teachers they employ will be expected to relate to the array of educational and social needs their students will bring to the classroom. However, unlike the past and today, as Murray (1986) notes, teachers will be expected to " . . . have all the attributes of genuine professionals-including the prestige, high earnings, and autonomy that accrue to competent people who are engaged in important matters in ways that are beyond the talent of training of the ordinary person" (p. 28). Murray further notes that these will be people " . . . who will be entrusted fully with the education of their pupils. They will be people who, by a combination of natural talent and training, can be fully responsive to the immediate demands of the classroom. They will be people who will make significant decisions in pedagogy-because they are competent to make them and because no other person will be more qualified or in a better position to do so" (p. 28-29). Unfortunately, these teachers are enrolled today in teacher preparation programs that are ill-preparing them to respond to these expectations.

The dilemma suggests the question "who are we recruiting to train as teachers of our culturally diverse students who historically have experienced little success in our school?" To begin answering this question a study was conducted of students enrolled in an introductory secondary teacher education course at a Midwestern university during the Fall semester of 1987. The purpose of this paper is to present the findings of this study which describes the attitudes of beginning students in a teacher education program in terms of what they know about the multicultural youth that will predominate schools and how they feel about these student populations.

Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are to describe:

1. the attitudes perceived by these students toward minority populations and the issues related to educating those populations; and,
2. the students' ability to answer correctly a selected set of questions concerning the history of minority populations in the United States.

The Instruments

Two instruments were utilized in the study. The *Multicultural Opinion Survey (Form #2)* contained 36 statements describing attitudes about minority populations and issues related to minorities in the United States. Respondents indicated the degree to which they believed or did not believe each statement by selecting a numbered response. A 1 corresponded to no belief, a 2 corresponded to little belief and a 4 or 5 corresponded to great or total belief. In each of the tables presented on the following pages, the column labeled "Do Not Believe" is the percent of those circling 1 or 2; the column labeled "Do Believe" is the percent of those circling 4 or 5. The second instrument, *Knowledge About Ethnic History and Culture,* was designed to assess the students' knowledge of the history of minority populations in the United States. It was not designed to be comprehensive. The questions were of a multiple choice format where the respondents were presented with four probable answers and a fifth, "I don't know" response. These seventeen statements posed questions relative to elementary facts about ethnic groups in America. A failure to respond correctly to several of the statements might be indicative of a need for a broader education relative to minority populations. The remaining four questions surveyed the respondents' desire to instruct specific minority student populations.

Sample

The sample included 86 of approximately 180 students who were enrolled during the Fall, 1987 semester in a required introductory course for secondary education students. Of the sample, 91 percent (70) were white, 55 percent (42) were male, and 88 percent (68) were between the ages of 18-25 years. The two instruments were distributed to the instructors who, in turn, provided the instruments to the students. The instructors administered the instruments during the first two weeks of the semester, collected them directly from the students upon completion, and returned them to the principal investigator. The data were compiled for analysis, and the report was developed from the total number of responses received during the semester. Total response rate exceeded 90 percent. While the sample was a non-random sample of the secondary education majors, the results may be safely inferred for the whole group, who were required to complete the course as part of the secondary teacher education program. However, it may or may not be representative of graduates from other years or institutions.

Limitations

Self report instruments carry some inherent limitations that must be borne in mind as these data are presented and reviewed.

1. Self-reporting responses on sensitive isues such as multicultural relations tend toward socially-acceptable answers; consequently, the

findings likely appear more positive than findings resulting from the use of other methodologies.

2. The respondents have few models for assessing their skills or knowledge; consequently, their responses are more likely to reflect their experience and tend to produce asessments of ability beyond their capacity.
3. Some statements may be ambiguous and the implications for practice will be unclear until these data are supplemented with qualitative data.

Findings

Most Believed Statements. Table 1 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements that were believed by 50 percent or more of the respondents. The students expressed belief in the school staff's ability to make a difference in the academic achievement of children. More than 96 percent of the respondents agreed that an important factor for promoting high achievement among any group of students is the teacher's belief that the children can learn. Ninety percent expressed the opinion that a teacher or counselor who believes a minority student to be a poor scholar will soon have a student acting like a poor scholar. More than four-fifths (83%) of the students thought that an important factor for successfully mixing children from several races, economic levels or ethnic groups in schools is the teacher's commitment to making it successful. Approximately four-fifths (79 percent) thought teachers should take courses in racism awareness. Seventy-eight percent were of the opinion that teachers neglect children of ethnic minorities when they don't teach them what they teach others. Three-fourths (75 percent) believed that one important factor for successfully mixing children from several races or ethnic groups is the ability to discuss their differences openly. More than seven in ten (73 percent) perceived that poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by a lack of visible and felt student belongingness in the school. Moreover, more than two-thirds (71 percent) believed that misdeeds by minority children are more likely to be generalized to the group while a misdeed committeed by a white student would not and poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by lack of staff knowledge about minority students, their culture or their community.

Least Believed Statements. Table 2 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements that were not believed by 50 percent or more of the respondents. Most of the respondents surveyed did not agree that women are too emotional for high-level policy-making jobs (94 percent), minority children cannot do as well in school as majority children (86 percent), public opinion and state laws generally assured that most slaves received good treatment (74 percent) and most minority pupils don't appreciate getting extra help (73 percent). More than two-thirds (71 percent) were not of the opinion that Mexican-Americans had no respect for time. Seven in ten (70 percent) did not believe that women are not included in history books as often as men because they have little history to report. Two in three respondents (69 percent) disagreed that most welfare children are illegitimate and that the "melting pot" concept has helped American Indians, blacks, and Chinese to move up into the mainstream of American life (68 percent). Less than two-thirds (64 percent) did not believe that the low intelligence of mi-

Table 1

Percent of Students Enrolled in an Introductory Secondary Education Course Responding to the Most Believed Statements About Multicultural Education

	Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1.	A very important factor for promoting high achievement among any group of students is the teacher's belief that the children can learn.	0	96
2.	A teacher or counselor who believes a minority student to be a poor scholar will soon have the student acting like a poor scholar.	8	90
3.	An important factor for successfully mixing children from several races, economic levels or ethnic groups in schools is the teacher's commitment to making it successful.	3	83
4.	Teachers should be required to take courses in racism awareness.	7	79
5.	Teachers neglect children of ethnic minorities when they don't teach them what they teach others.	7	78
6.	One important factor for successfully mixing children from several races or ethnic groups is the ability to discuss their differences openly.	4	75
7.	Poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by lack of visible and felt student belongingness in the school.	7	73
8.	Misdeeds by minority children are more likely to be generalized to the group than they would be if committed by white students.	4	71
9.	Poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by lack of staff knowledge about minority students, their culture or their community.	13	71

nority children caused poor oral expression. Moreover, nearly six in ten (59 percent) did not agree that men should bear the major responsibility for supporting a family. A similar percent (58 percent) did not believe most welfare families are black. More than half (57 percent) perceived that children did not need to learn clearly defined sex roles to escape being sexually troubled adults.

Four percent of the respondents agreed that Mexican Americans have no respect for time. Nine percent believed that minority children cannot do as well in school as majority children, and 4 percent believed that minority pupils

Table 2

Percent of Students Enrolled in an Introductory Secondary Education Course Responding to the Least Believed Statements About Multicultural Education.

	Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1.	Women are too emotional for high-level policy making jobs.	94	3
2.	Minority children can't do as well in school as majority children.	86	9
3.	Public opinion and state laws generally assured that most slaves received good treatment.	74	8
4.	Most minority pupils don't appreciate getting extra help.	73	4
5.	Mexican-Americans have no respect for time.	71	4
6.	Women are not included in history books as often as men because they haven't much history to report.	70	12
7.	Most welfare children are illegitimate	69	9
8.	The "melting pot" concept has helped American Indians, Blacks and Chinese to move into the mainstream of American life.	68	14
9.	The low intelligence of minority children causes poor oral expression.	64	10
10.	Men should bear the major responsibility for supporting a family.	59	20
11.	Most welfare families are Black.	58	13
12.	Children must be taught clearly defined sex roles or they will be sexually troubled as adults.	57	17

do not appreciate getting extra help. More than one in ten (12 percent) believed women did not have much to contribute to history. Nine percent believed that most welfare children are illegitimate. One in ten (10 percent) believed strongly that children with poor oral expression were of low intelligence. Twenty percent believed strongly that men should bear the major responsibility for supporting a family. One in seven (13 percent) believed that most welfare families are black. These facts reflect examples of the lack of knowledge and stereotyping that could seriously impair instruction and learning.

Responses to Remaining Statements. Table 3 presents the percent of students who stated they did or did not believe the statements from Form #2 not included in Tables 1 and 2. These statements received middle-range agreement from the respondents. Sixty-nine percent perceived that changing the attitudes of professional staff who work in schools improves the learning rate of minority group children. Almost seven in ten (68 percent) believed that the curricula and textbooks generally ignore the contributions of minorities. Two-thirds (65 percent) agreed that to put a minority person in a position for which (s)he has been inadequately trained perpetuates racial discrimination. More than three in five (61 percent) were of the opinion that anyone can be suc-

Table 3

Percent of Students Enrolled in an Introductory Secondary Education Course Responding to Statements About Multicultural Education.

Statement	Do Not Believe	Do Believe
1. Changing the attitudes of professional staff who work in schools improves the learning rate of minority group children.	1	69
2. Curricula and textbooks generally ignore the contributions of minorities.	13	68
3. To put a minority person in a position for which (s)he has been inadequately trained perpetuates racial discrimination.	10	65
4. Anyone can be successful in the United States today (regardless of race or color) if (s)he is willing to work hard.	25	61
5. Poor discipline in newly desegregated schools is caused by unresolved discrepancies between school personnel and parents' views of what should be occurring in the school.	8	53
6. You must notice race before you can create a situation in which race does not matter.	16	53
7. Poor achievement among minority students is caused by ineffective communication among staff members to solve, as opposed to complain about problems.	7	49
8. Failure to act against injustice to minorities is a racist act.	18	49
9. In the United States each individual is able to rise to the level of her/his own innate ability.	40	38
10. Poor achievement among minority students is caused by differences between school personnel and parents' view of what should be occurring in the school.	9	34
11. Most of the able-bodied, unemployed minority persons could find jobs if they really wanted to.	34	31
12. Black crime rates are caused by the political and economic deprivation of Black Americans.	26	29
13. Poor achievement among minority students is caused by staff's failure to see positive features of the school.	30	27
14. American Indians are usually unable to adjust to modern culture.	39.	18

cessful in the United States today regardless of race or color, if she or he is willing to work hard. More than half (53 percent) agreed that poor discipline in a newly desegregated school is caused by unresolved discrepancies between school personnel and parents' views of what should be occurring in the school. A similar percent (53 percent) believed that you must notice race before you can create a situation in which race does not matter. Less than one-half (49 percent) agreed that poor achievement among minority students is caused by ineffective communication among staff members to solve as opposed to complain about problems. Forty-nine percent expressed the opinion that failure to act against injustice to minorities is a racist act. More than one-third (38 percent) agreed that in the United States each individual is able to rise to the level of his or her own innate ability; however, 40 percent did not believe this. One in three (34 percent) believed that poor achievement among minority students is caused by differences between school personnel and parents' view of what should be occurring in the school. Similarly, one in three (31 percent) perceived that most able-bodied, unemployed minority persons could find jobs if they wanted to. More than one-fourth (29 percent) believed that black crime rates are caused by the political and economic deprivation of black Americans. Although 27 percent believed that poor achievement among minority students is caused by the staff's failure to see positive features of the school, almost one-third (30 percent) did not. Approximately two in five (39 percent) did not agree that American Indians are usually unable to adjust to modern culture while 18 percent did agree.

In summary, the respondents strongly believed that teachers can make a difference if they feel that minority children can learn and manifest this belief by expecting high academic performance from minority students. They perceived that teachers must be committed to integrating socially diverse students and be aware of the consequences of social issues such as racism for the effective education of minority students. Moreover, the respondents believed that effective teachers give attention to the minority students' learning, are willing to deal openly with sociocultural differences, and handle student discipline by helping students feel and become part of the school community.

Of most importance, the respondents felt strongly that minority students can do well and appreciate receiving help. They did not believe in stereotyping sociocultural groups, nor did they feel that social assimilation processes are effective in integrating minority groups into the mainstream of society.

However, the respondents were of a moderate opinion that minority children can be effectively educated if: (1) teachers' attitudes are changed to reflect the positive features of schools; (2) curricula include the contributions of minority groups; (3) minority children work hard in developing adequately those skills necessary for successful adult life; (4) teachers, administrators and parents cooperate in achieving the goals of schooling in the context that recognizes sociocultural diversity and within which adversities such as racism are combated by challenging injustices; and (5) minority groups can cope with the social and political circumstances that characterize metropolitan America.

Ethnic History and Cultural Awareness. It is often believed (Wayson and Moultry, 1988) that prospective teachers have sufficient knowledge of the history of minority groups in the United States. Table 4 presents the percent of respondents who answered the questions correctly, incorrectly or did not

Table 4

Percentage Distribution of Responses by Students Enrolled in an Introductory Secondary Education Course to Questions on Minority Culture and History in the United States.

Statement	Correct	Incorrect	Do Not Know
1. America's foremost "apostle of nonviolence" and Nobel prize winner shot on April 4, 1968 was: a. Robert Kennedy b. John F. Kennedy c. Martin Luther King d. James Meredith e. I don't know the answer to this.	89	7	4
2. Which of these is a strength of Appalachian culture: a. They adapt well to urban life. b. They read music well. c. They stand out in competitions with others. d. They can make use of handy materials. e. They have a long history of devotion to education.	68	12	20
3. The initials NAACP stand for: a. North American Association for Cultural Pluralism b. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People c. New Attitudes and Advancement for Cultural Pluralism d. National Association of American Colored People e. I don't know the answer to this.	67	7	26
4. The first man to die in the Revolutionary War was a black man. Who was he? a. Prince Whimple b. Crispus Attucks c. Henry Johnson d. I don't know the answer to this.	65	4	31
5. The Supreme Court case of *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education:* a. made busing of minority children legal. b. made desegregation illegal. c. required administrators to give due process before suspending students. d. reversed legal doctrines that blacks and whites could be separated in schools. e. I don't know the answer to this.	52	20	28

6. *The Plessy vs. Ferguson* Supreme Court case: a. was used to justify segregation in schools. b. stopped illegal segregational practices such as blockbusting. c. allowed black citizens to sit where they wished on public transportation. d. made it legal for blacks to join unions. e. I don't know the answer to this.	32	25	43
7. Which of these is true of Native Americans (Indians)? a. They couldn't shoot rifles very accurately. b. They established a constitution that was a model for the U.S. Constitution. c. They adapted well to urban culture. d. They introduced the white people to scalping. e. I don't know the answer to this.	26	21	53
8. Cuban immigrants who came in the 1960s: a. came to escape religious persecution. b. are rural people who adapt poorly to modern life. c. included a lot of criminals and mental patients. d. tended to bring many skills that are useful in American life. e. I don't know the answer to this.	15	44	41
9. The discoverer of blood plasma was: a. Percy Julian b. Lewis Latimer c. Charles Drew d. Ted Lassister e. I don't know the answer to this.	12	8	80
10. The co-discoverer of the North Pole, with Admiral Perry, was: a. Benjamin Banneker b. Henry Blair c. Matthew Henson d. Ernest Just e. I don't know the answer to this.	7	11	82

11. A Black man invented the first alarm clock in America and was the chief surveyor of a 6-man team which helped to lay out the blueprint for our present national capitol. Who was he? a. Benjamin Banneker b. Henry Blair c. Matthew Henson d. Ernest Just e. I don't know the answer to this.	6	8	86
12. Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (now called Chapter 1) is the federal program that provides funds for: a. extra educational help for disadvantaged youngsters. b. buses for court-ordered desegregation. c. self-initiated desegregation by school districts. d. "open enrollment" programs initiated by school districts. e. I don't know the answer to this.	4	5	91
13. Which permanent settlement was settled first in what is now the United States? a. Santa Fe b. Plymouth Colony c. Jamestown d. Roanoke Colony e. I don't know the answer to this.	3	77	20
14. Germans who came to the U.S. in the late 1800's were most likely to come a. to work in the mines of Pennsylvania. b. to form small religious groups outside mainstream religions. c. to escape the draft. d. to take jobs as school administrators. e. I don't know the answer to this.	3	40	58
15. New Mexico and Arizona were discovered by a black Hispanic. Who was he? a. Aleyidinko b. James Saldivar c. Salem Poor d. Estervinco e. I don't know the answer to this.	3	12	85

know. The findings from the resutls of this study revealed that nine out of ten (89 percent) could identify Martin Luther King as America's "apostle" of nonviolence and a Nobel prize winner. Approximately seven in ten (68 percent) were cognizant of one strength of the Appalachian microculture. More than two-thirds (67 percent) knew the initials NAACP identified the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Almost two-thirds (65 percent) knew that the first man to die in the Revolutionary War was a black man, Crispus Attucks.

However, the data also revealed that only five in ten (52 percent) knew that the Supreme Court case of *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education* reversed legal doctrines that allowed blacks and whites to be educated in separate schools. One in three (32 percent) were aware that segregation in schools was justified on the basis of the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* Supreme Court Case. Moreover, 25 percent thought the case had other significance while 43 percent did not know the case's significance. Nine in ten (91 percent) did not know that Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (now known as Chapter 1) provides extra help for disadvantaged students. More than eight in ten (86 percent) did not know the black scientist who invented the first alarm clock in America and led the team which helped lay out the blueprint for the city of Washington, DC. Eighty-five percent did not know the black Hispanic who discovered New Mexico and Arizona and eighty-two percent did not know the black man who co-discovered the North Pole. A similar percent (80 percent) did not know that Charles Drew, a Black scientist, discovered blood plasma. More than one-half (58 percent) did not know that most Germans who came to the United States in the late 1800's came to escape the draft. Forty percent gave the wrong response to this question. Five in ten (53 percent) did not know that a tribe of Native Americans (Indians) established a constitution that was a model for the United States Constitution. More than two in five (41 percent) did not know that Cuban immigrants who came in the 60's came with many skills that were useful in American life. Seventy-seven percent gave the wrong reponse to the question about the first settlement in what is now the United States. In brief most of the respondents were aware of a limited number of facts that characterize American society.

Desire to Teach Minority Children. Table 5 presents the percent of students responding to statements concerning the teaching of selected minority populations. While none of the respondents wanted to teach a class of all Appalachians, blacks, Hispanics or Native Americans, they wanted to teach where black (23 percent), Native American (18 percent), Hispanic (14 percent), or Appalachian (7 percent) students were mixed with other students. The majority of the respondents would not mind if Appalachian (88 percent), Hispanic (82 percent), Native American (80 percent), or black (72 percent) students were in their class. Some respondents believed they would be concerned about teaching Appalachian (6 percent), black (4 percent), Hispanic (4 percent) or Native American (3%) children, but would consider doing so if no other job were available. A few respondents stated that they would refuse to teach if teaching black children (1 percent) were the only available assignment. In summary, the majority of respondents were willing to teach in a class of ethnically diverse students; however, there were some who would only consider teaching minority students if no other employment opportunity was available.

Table 5

Percent of Students Enrolled in an Introductory Secondary Education Course Responding to the Teaching of Selected Minority Populations.

Statement	Percent
1. Which statement best shows how you feel about teaching Appalachian migrants?	
a. I want to teach only Appalachians.	0
b. I want to teach where Appalachians are mixed with other children.	7
c. If they are in my class, I won't mind.	88
d. I would be concerned about teaching them, but would consider doing so if no other job was available.	6
e. I would refuse to teach if that were the only available assignment.	0
2. Which statement best shows how you feel about teaching Black students?	
a. I want to teach only Black students.	0
b. I want to teach where Blacks are mixed with other children.	23
c. If they are in my class, I won't mind.	72
d. I would be concerned about teaching them, but would consider doing so if no other job was available.	4
e. I would refuse to teach if that were the only available assignment.	1
3. Which statement best shows how you feel about teaching Hispanic students?	
a. I want to teach only Hispanics.	0
b. I want to teach where Hispanics are mixed with other children.	14
c. If they are in my class, I won't mind.	82
d. I would be concerned about teaching them, but would consider doing so if no other job was available.	4
e. I would refuse to teach if that were the only available assignment.	0
4. Which statement best shows how you feel about teaching Native American (Indian) students?	
a. I want to teach only Native Americans (Indians).	0
b. I want to teach where Native Americans (Indians) are mixed with other children.	18
c. If they are in my class, I won't mind.	80
d. I would be concerned about teaching them, but would consider doing so if no other job was available.	3
e. I would refuse to teach if that were the only available assignment.	0

Conclusion

The need to better prepare teachers and other educational personnel is more pressing than ever. Education is being challenged (Carnegie, 1986; Holmes Group, 1986) to develop more intensive and effective approaches for enhancing educators' power to practice education. The Carnegie report clearly shows the increasing need to educate students who are currently neglected or undereducated in the present educational system.

Of course, this is not new. A number of educators in the past have called for teacher education programs to be more responsive to historically undereducated groups (Rivlin, 1972; Deslonde, 1973; Grant, 1975, 1983; Baker, 1977; Klassen & Gollnick, 1977; and, Gezi, 1981). However, the call goes unanswered in spite of the changing characteristics of school-age populations (Hodgkinson, 1985). As schools become more and more diverse, we continue to enroll students in teacher education programs who believe that education is important and that teachers can make a difference to students who want to learn. Yet, these teachers of tomorrow are disadvantaged by limited historical and cultural understanding of students from the various rapidly growing cultural groups in American society. The majority of students enrolled in teacher education are willing to teach culturally distinct students in settings characterized by diversity; however, there are still many who express reservations about teaching in diverse settings as a consequence of preconceptions of what it entails.

Teacher educators can no longer afford the luxury of not preparing our teachers of tomorrow. As others have noted elsewhere (Dawson, 1981; Mahan & Boyle, 1981) teacher educators agree that multicultural education is a "good thing" if not important. However, teacher educators continue to assume that teacher education students will pick up the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes that will help them teach classes of socioculturally diverse students without direct instruction and planned experiences. Moreover, teacher educators assume that most of the schools will continue to be "monocultural" and "monosocial"; therefore, there is no obligation to commit time and resources to preparing teachers to teach students who are at risk of being miseducated and undereducated. Those assumptions can no longer be taken for granted as evidence gathers that teacher education students are ill-prepared in issues of sociocultural diversity. There is little wide-spread effort to train teacher education students in skills necessary to provide effective education to children in multicultural settings. So, culturally diverse schools from various parts of the country are seeking teachers trained in multicultural education from all regions of the United States and other countries to teach their students.

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TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF RACE AND HUMAN RELATIONS IN A MULTICULTURAL SETTING

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Introduction

Many of the strategies thought to promote effective desegregation include efforts to improve racial and human relations among teachers, administrators, students and other staff members. Implementation of staff development strategies in racial and human relations often depend on whether teachers and administrators perceive actual or potential problems in this area. Educators may believe that there are no problems in a desegregated school simply because the school lacks any signs of trouble (Winecoff and Kelly, 1971). Forehand and Ragosta (1976) argue that the quality of racial and human relations among school personnel often determines the interpersonal climate of the school. Tracking and ability grouping, biased disciplinary actions and segregated extra-curricular activities hinder effective racial and human relations for the school staff and students.

High quality staff development is a central component in nearly every proposal for improving education. Staff development programs share a common purpose, that is "to alter the professional practices, beliefs and understanding of school programs toward an articulated end" (Griffin, 1983). Staff development programs are a systematic attempt to initiate and foster change-change in the classroom practices of teachers, change in their beliefs and attitudes, and change in the learning outcomes of students (Guskey, 1986).

Clearly, teachers are drawn to staff development programs because they perceive these activities can enhance their knowledge and skills, foster growth, and increase their ability to work effectively with students. However, teachers are pragmatic. Through staff development programs they hope to gain specific, concrete and practical uses that relate directly to the daily operation of their classrooms.

Many staff development programs are based on the assumption that changing teacher attitudes, beliefs and perceptions are the first concern of the program. This involves commitment and/or involvement from the teachers in the planning stages of the staff development. Often, the data is collected through a survey or planning sessions. The following pages document the processes used in developing a program to improve the racial and human relations in a large recently desegrated high school in the Midwest.

Background

During August, 1985, the principal of the high school expressed a desire to improve the racial and human relations awareness of the entire high school faculty. The in-service program relative to desegregation and integration had been ongoing but limited in scope and the principal wanted to develop a program that would "help all teachers provide better instructional services to both the minority and majority student body." With the cooperation of the school district and the local university, the principal decided to commission an evaluation of facutly in-service needs in relation to racial and human relations awareness and training.

This paper outlines the initial discussions conducted with various administrators and department chairpersons. The discussions resulted in the development of a questionnaire administered to the fauclty. The data collection procedures, findings, conclusions and recommendations are documented on the following pages. It is an attempt to reflect as fairly as possible, the viewpoint of the faculty as expressed by their comments. The conclusions and recommendations are based on the collected information and the stated purpose of the administration to improve racial and human relations at this high school.

The studies on racial and human relations at other high schools have not been examined in this paper. There is therefore, no comparison between other high schools but a focus on this high school itself.

Methodology

Initial discussions took place between the researchers and school district administrators. As a result of these discussions a planning session for department chairpersons and assistant principals was scheduled during the fall semester. The purpose of this session was to assess the faculty needs and determine their priorities with regard to improving racial and human relations. As a result of this session, it was anticipated that the participants would develop a sense of priorities in dealing with racial and human relations.

At the conclusion of this planning session, the participants had developed the following list of issues/topics/questions:

—Hall wanderers are predominantly black.
—Teacher expectations should be raised for all students.
—Learning styles should be considered.
—Self-esteem should be raised for all students.
—Student self-direction should be improved.
—Teachers should have knowledge of effective classroom techniques.
—Changing life styles should be addressed.
—In a one-on-one situation (i.e., student/teacher), blacks tend to persist when the conflict should be resolved.
—White students accept "no," while black students persist.
—Blacks test the system more.
—Problem students came with a chip on their shoulder.
—Standard (e.g., department or school) expectations are not always implemented.
—Positive relationships (e.g., black/white, student/student, student/teacher and teacher/teacher) should be stressed.
—Fairness should be exhibited in school related situations.
—Programmatic expectations should be consistent.
—Consistency should be exhibited in teacher/student relationships.

—Is cross racial dating a personal or school concern?
—Is higher education a reality for all students?
—Behavior expectations and discipline.
—Reverse discrimination.

The results of the planning session and the subsequent disussions with school administrators suggested the need for further evaluation of faculty in-service training needs in relation to racial and human relations. It was agreed that interviews would be conducted with both faculty and students with the goal to formulate a questionnaire that all faculty at the high school would be requested to complete.

During the fall semester, individual interviews were conducted with twenty-four faculty members and three groups of students. Data from these interviews were used to formulate items for the faculty questionnaire which was then reviewed by the principal and assistant principals. At the end of the spring semester, the questionnaire was given to all department chairpersons for distribution to the faculty with the request that completed questionnaires be returned to the department chairpersons. One hundred sixty-five faculty members returned the questionnaire and only data from the questionnaire has been used in this paper.

Results

Perceptions of Racial and Human Relations. There was a wide and varied response from faculty when asked about racial and human relations. Approximately 25 percent of the faculty stated emphatically that there were no racial and human relations problems and some suggested that the administration (and the questionnaire itself) were trying to create one. "We're looking for problems where none exist" stated one person. Another respondent felt that "Racism does not interrupt the educational process," and asked, "Why bring undue attention to a situation that only improves with time?" This group of respondents seemed to take the position that the administration was making too much of an issue which should be left alone and they resented involvement with in-service programs and questionnaires that focused on the issue.

Another 20 percent of the faculty expressed doubts that there were any problems and were skeptical about student perceptions that there were racial and human relations problems at the school. One respondent replied: "At a time when a pimple is a major crisis, they see anything not in line with their own lifestyle as a problem." There was a feeling among this group of respondents that although students perceived a problem, no problem actually existed. "Students many times perceive problems when one or minor ones exist," replied one faculty member. Another respondent stated, "Students tend to take a perspective from individual incidents while faculty members tend to look at the broad picture." Among this group of faculty were those who believed that "Some black students focus on race as an excuse for teachers holding them accountable for their actions; they cry 'racial prejudice' regardless of whether it exists." There was a feeling that students use the issue of race as a way to manipulate the situation.

In many cases there was a recognition by the faculty that they may not be sufficiently in touch to recognize the problems. As one person responded, "Students are more aware of the real situation and their concerns should be heard." Fifteen percent of the faculty stated that there definitely was a problem in racial and human relations, and suggested that both faculty and students contributed to it. One person said, "There have been problems for some time and faculty overall have little connection with the day-to-day feelings of the student body." Another person, stated, "This staff holds the most racist attitudes I have seen." Some felt that certain faculty members needed help but were often the last to recognize their own needs.

Another 20 percent of the faculty felt that there were some racial and human relations problems and while recognizing that a problem existed, attributed it mainly to the difficulty some teachers and (white) students have with the overall behavior of black students. "I don't feel blacks have as much desire to improve," said one faculty member. Other comments related to loud and disruptive behavior and disrespect on the part of black students towards teachers and other students. "Many teachers don't know how to handle this," stated another respondent.

"There is a feeling among some faculty and many students that disciplinary measures for blacks are less severe than for whites, and that they get away with more." This was expressed in many different ways by a number of faculty and seemed to reflect an uncertainty about and frustration with black students on disciplinary issues. Another person expressed a similar sentiment: "Racial and human relations are not open problems, but there is an underlying feeling of frustration from coping with cultural differences."

About 20 percent of the faculty were ambivalent about whether there was a problem or at least felt that if the problem existed, it would go away with time. Some struck a more positive note. "I have noticed no serious racial problems, however, I have been aware of racial attitudes among students. But I do not believe these attitudes are firm, unchangeable, and present a serious problem. Attitudes are predominantly positive." At least one person felt that both groups of students have accepted each other and that the school climate had contributed to this success.

In summary, the majority of the faculty felt that there were no racial and human relations problems or if they existed they were not serious enough to warrant specific attention. However, at least 35 percent of the faculty felt that the situation warranted specific attention, yet many felt good about the progress thus far in racial and human relations. The two specific areas of concern that emerged were the racial attitudes of the faculty and difficulty faced by the faculty (and some students) in coping with the behavior of black students. Interestingly, there was very little reference to the attitudes or behavior of white students at the school.

Issues and Concerns. Comments on the issues related to racial and human relations were characterized by reactions to the behavior of black students, the attitudes of faculty, and the policy and administration in the school. Very few faculty expressed an interest in dealing with their own doubts and uncertainties with regard to racial and human relations. If a problem was perceived, it was seen in other faculty, the administration or students. However, about 45 percent of the faculty expressed a desire for assistance in helping students cope with racial prejudice and thereby seemed to acknowledge the existence of racial and human relations problems.

The following racial and human relations issues were referred to with some frequency by the faculty.

1. *Discipline.* The most frequently mentioned issue was that of discipline. Despite this, 80 percent of the faculty indicated that equity in discipline isues with students from different racial groups was not a problem for them as individuals. Most faculty felt they were "color-blind", applied the rules fairly to students of all races and generally treated students fairly. Although, there was some recognition of the problems related to discipline in a racially mixed high school, there seemed to be a reluctance on the part of the faculty to request assistance.

   Frustration was expressed concerning the lack of consistent enforcement of rules and double standards with more leniency and flexibility allowed for black students. One respondent said, "If a rule is worth being a rule, it must be enforced." There was some feeling among faculty that "More discipline was needed for minority kids" who tend to "cause us to lower our standards." One person asked, "How much do you tolerate from blacks and just attribute it to the way they are?"

   Another aspect of the discipline issue for some faculty was the reaction and criticism from black students who expressed that they felt "picked on" because of their race. One teacher said, "They attempt to put a guilt trip on me for making them follow the rules and I become hostile and defensive." It was difficult for faculty to cope with kids who reacted so aggressively to discipline and called them racist. There was some indication that faculty were both sensitive and defensive to the racist label, while concurrently accusing black students of hiding behind the racial issue.

   There was no suggestion by faculty that white students received preferential treatment because of their race. On the other hand, many implied that both faculty and the school itself expressed a bias that favored black students. Comments from faculty however, clearly indicated that black students did not feel favored.

2. *Busing.* The issue of busing and integration in the school system was obviously unresolved for some faculty, whose reaction to racial and human relations at the school was to stop busing. Apart from this minority, there existed a perception that progress had been made over the last few years and a positive feeling that it would continue. Difficult issues (e.g., integration of people from different neighborhoods and classes) were real concerns. Also of concern was the difficulty that many bused students had in participating fully in the life of the school.

3. *Home, Parent, Adult Influence.* The question of the effect and influence of upbringing, background and present home situations on racial attitudes is a difficult problem for any school system. This is especially true, when parents are uninvolved in the school life of their children. Faculty expressed frustration at the difficulty that this poses. "White students are expressing the prejudices of their parents. How can you change parents?" asked one person. "A lot of parents don't care" said another.

   Sixty percent of the faculty felt that parental involvement was the key to addressing racial and human relations among students. However, many faculty members said there was no point in trying to involve parents and expressed a frustration about the lack of interest and involvement of parents. Faculty did not seem to know what to do about parental involvement and many were not even interested in trying to involve parents. One person said, "I think it's too late to try and change parental views about racial relations, we need to start with students staring early in school."

4. *Inter-Racial Dating.* Concern about inter-racial dating was expressed by faculty who seemed uncomfortable with this and uncertain how to handle the issue. Apparently the incidence of inter-racial dating had increased in the last two years and there was sentiment among some that there should be a school policy concerning inter-racial dating.
5. *Communication and Trust.* Issues of trust and communication between students as well as faculty and students were mentioned in responses from the faculty. Once again, the comments focused on the behavior of black students. Reference was made to the fact that "Blacks keep to themselves" and "They make no effort to be involved with white students." There were references to the racial attitudes of the white students but no reference to exclusive behavior on their part. Some staff members expressed a real concern about "Getting black students to trust me" and acknowledged that "This will take time." These faculty members seemed to recognize the communication and trust gap between the races and the difficulties involved in overcoming this barrier.
6. *Policy and Administration.* The general feeling among faculty was summarized in the following response of one person: "I feel the administration is extremely fair and just—the only complaint I would have is the continual question of 'what are we doing wrong?' and the underlying inference that there is a 'serious' problem and we are failing to deal with it."

   Sixty five percent of the faculty stated that they did not feel the administration contributed to racial and human relations problems. "The administration is sincere in its effort to establish a positive racial relations climate," said one person. Responses of the faculty further elaborated on this perception. "The administration has contributed positively and strongly to increased human relations and the reduction of racial problems." There was a strong sentiment among many faculty members that "We are making progress, we're doing the right things now."

   On the other hand, there was a group of faculty members who felt, "The administration needs to be more positive when dealing with both faculty and students. At times there is too much negativism about racism, instead of positive attitudes or praise for the students and faculty for dealing with any problem or threat of problems." They felt the administration was "Going beyond the call of duty," should not dwell on race related problems and should not emphasize racial relations. Eighteen percent of the faculty felt that the administration was contributing to racial and human relations problems, primarily by over-emphasizing the issue.

Developing Positive Racial and Human Relations. In the initial interviews a number of suggestions were made concerning the development of positive racial and human relations. Faculty responses on the questionnaire to these ideas were as follows.

		Agree	Neutral or Unanswered	Disagree
1.	Hire more black faculty.	76	16	68
	Twenty-three (23) positive responses were restricted by stating that only qualified black faculty should be hired and people should not be hired based on their color.			
2.	Among the faculty, develop more consistency in implementing policy and rules.	134	7	24
	This was a strong sentiment throughout the returned questionnaires.			
3.	Implement ways to foster a more common school spirit.	145	6	14
	This was seen by many, especially those who felt racial relations issues should be addressed in less direct ways, as the means to improve racial and human relations.			
4.	Foster increased communication and relationships among faculty.	141	8	16
	This issue was linked with sentiments about school spirit and the lack of the 'human touch' in the school.			
5.	Implement an in-service program for all faculty and staff that focuses on various aspects of racial and human relations.	74	10	81
	Faculty were divided on the effectiveness of any kind of in-service but the majority understood the necessity for continuing assistance and education in racial and human relations.			
6.	Initiate a racial relations orientation program for sophomores.	77	11	77
7.	Implement student leadership training in racial and human relations.	105	9	51
	Racial relations programs for students received mixed reviews but were often suggested.			

Table 1 documents the level of interest in a variety of in-service subject areas. Despite the number of negative comments about in-service events there was interest in specific subject areas. However, faculty seemed concerned about the quality and leadership of in-service events. There was a generally positive response to the suggestion that instead of in-service events, faculty meet in small groups with an outside facilitator. A total of ninety faculty felt this was potentially a good idea, while forty-eight were skeptical or opposed to any kind of event and twenty-seven did not express an opinion. It was interesting to note that the topics receiving the most interest were those that have to do with helping students. There was less interest expressed in topics that related to the education of the faculty.

Conclusions

The fact that the issue of improving racial and human relations was on the agenda of the administration indicated that the school probably rates high in its efforts at addressing this issue and in its racial and human relations per

Table 1

Level of Interest in In-Service Subject Areas

	Very Interested	Somewhat Interested	Could Become Interested	Not Interested	No Response
1. Helping students face and deal with their own attitudes, fears and prejudices.	81	44	14	09	17
2. Helping students deal with identity and self-concept issues.	77	42	14	14	18
3. Equitable discipline: problems and possibilities.	65	41	22	20	17
4. How to expose attitudes and deal with them.	52	40	24	31	18
5. Inter-personal skills in racial and human relations.	29	48	33	35	20
6. Understanding our own and other's cultures.	28	41	32	45	19
7. Understanding racism and its distinction from prejudice and discrimination.	17	32	35	61	20
8. Racism in a system/institution: exploring and understanding the issues.	12	36	40	57	20
9. Racism in the curriculum/language/literature.	15	21	33	76	20

se. However, once a system and its participants have taken the courageous step to look at what is happening in their midst with a view to improving it, any problems are exposed. Although, an atmosphere of raw racism and antagonism does not exist at this high school, the responses to items in the questionnaire indicated that many faculty are still struggling with their own racial attitudes and the realities of a racially integrated high school student body.

This situation is a dynamic and sensitive one. Students in high school are at an age when they are sensitive to many issues let alone dealing with their own racial identity and that of others. On the other hand, a predominantly white faculty with the responsibility to exercise discipline consistently and equitably is both vulnerable and sensitive to the accusation of being racist. This dilemma produces a distortion of reality. White faculty are potentially defensive and possibly guilty of the racist label, students accuse teachers fairly or unfairly of racism and students struggle to understand their own racial identity.

Throughout this study and in contact with faculty and administrators the following observations were made.

1. Generally positive racial and human relations exist at this high school.
2. A commitment exists on the part of the administration and faculty to provide an educational environment free of racism.
3. Subtle racism was expressed in paternalistic and reactionary statements by faculty.
4. There was an absence of comments about racism on the part of white students, but consistent references to undesirable black student behavior and "reverse racism".

From an examination of the responses to items on the questionnaire returned by the faculty members, it was possible to draw the following conclusions:

1. A small group of faculty felt the busing situation had been forced upon them and they resented the continual requests by the administration to improve racial and human relations.
2. A fairly high percentage of the faculty felt there were few or no problems related to racial and human relations at this high school. These faculty were critical of the administration for emphasizing the issue and felt any racial or human relations problems would naturally be solved over time.
3. Many faculty were reactionary in their articulation of racial and human relations problems concerning the behavior of black students. They contended that some faculty and administrators tend to be biased towards black students.
4. There was little or no comment on the behavior of white students towards black students or that bias in favor of white students was exhibited by faculty and administrators. However, a few comments indicated the feeling that some faculty attitudes reinforced racial bias.
5. Although resistance existed to further in-service events, interest was expressed in relation to specific types of events and subject matter.
6. Overall support for the administration was evident but the sentiment was expressed that the administration overemphasizes racial and human relations problems.
7. A sense of hopelessness and frustration existed in relation to the lack of parental involvement, specifically in the area of racial and human relations.
8. Some faculty blamed minority students and the administration for the existence of racial or human relations problems.
9. The majority of the faculty supported the direction and actions of the administration. Consistency in discipline and the implementation of school policy is needed to gain the support of other faculty and staff.

Recommendations

The goal of the administration is to increase the awareness and improve the skills of the faculty with regard to racial and human relations and thereby assist all teachers in the provision of better instructional services to minority students as well as majority students. The following recommendations, based on the study, were made with this in mind.

1. Equitable and fair discipline is a difficult and emotional issue for both faculty and students. The frequency with which this issue was mentioned suggests that careful attention must be directed to the dissemination and implementation of disciplinary policies and procedures. It is recommended that continued priority be given to ensuring equity and consistency in all disciplinary concerns.
2. The difficulties related to an integrated school system are not going to quickly disappear. The situation requires that the faculty be honest with themselves about their own attitudes. Openness and a sense of confidence about the future of an integrated high school are also necessary qualities. It is recommended that the faculty be continually supported in this period of growth and development and be given every opportunity to learn about and discuss issues related to the alleviation of racial and human relations problems.
3. Although some negativism concerning in-service events existed among the faculty, this seemed to revolve around the type of in-service previously scheduled. It is recommended that the administration re-examine the nature and purpose of in-service events and a long term plan be devised to address the racial and human relations issues in which faculty have shown an interest.
4. Many faculty expressed both an openness and a desire for a small group structure in which they could discuss and receive assistance with racial and human relations issues. It is recommended that the administration explore ways to make this possible including the use of outside facilitators.
5. More than 50 percent of the faculty expressed positive sentiments for the provision of racial and human relations awareness training for the student body. It is recommended that racial and human relations awareness training be provided as part of student leadership training and that the possibility be explored of providing all sophomores with an orientation to anti-racism.
6. It is well recognized that role models play an important part in the formation of attitudes and this high school has relatively few black faculty. It is recommended that the administration be diligent in its search for black faculty and hire such people whenever possible to fill vacancies.
7. While some faculty felt that racial and human relations should be improved others felt that school spirit as a whole needed improvement. They contended that this will in itself contribute to positive racial and human relations. It is recommended that the administration and faculty find ways to build relationships and spirit in the school as a whole and create a comfortable environment for black students and white students to relate naturally.
8. While the administration has been criticized by some faculty for overemphasizing racial and human relations problems, it is recommended that the administration retain racial and human relations on the agenda and pursue low-key but clearly defined ways to help faculty, staff and

students cope with their own attitudes, identities and relationships.

9. On the premise that it is often easier for individuals to talk to an "outsider", it is recommended that consideration be given to the appointment of a consultant as a resource person for faculty and student groups to assist them in developing healthy racial and human relations and attitudes.

It remains to be seen whether the implementation of the recommendations will change the attitudes and perceptions of the staff. If the staff are able to promote positive change in the student outcomes as a result of the staff development, then changes will likely be found in the perceptions of the staff.

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TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS ON FACTORS RELATED TO STUDENT DISCIPLINE

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Introduction

Educational problems for minority students are many but are complicated by the minority students being the majority in the school setting. The school district in this study is an urban district that has for the past fifteen years had disappearing taxable property, a deterioration of real property, a large youth population, high delinquency rates and an increase in school drop-outs.

Several causative factors may be responsible for the increase in student behavior problems (Phi Delta Kappa, 1980; Harris and Bennet, 1982; Comerford *et. al.*, 1985; Harris *et. al.*, 1985; and Heid, 1985). First, it may be contended that people in the schools need to work together to solve student behavior problems. Administrators, teachers and students need to be involved in the problem solving and decision making process. A second and less simplistic explanation suggests that a number of environmental factors contribute to student behavior problems. These include both school-related factors (e.g., discipline policies, curriculum, teacher expectations, and student and teacher attitudes) and community-related factors (e.g., parental attitudes, high unemployment, and an increase in gang problems).

Four major findings were reported in the study conducted by the Children's Defense Fund in 1975. First, school officials commonly used disciplinary exclusion on students if they posed a problem because they were different in any way. Second, a vast majority of suspensions were for nonviolent and nondangerous offenses; 25 percent were for truancy or tardiness. Less than 3 percent of the suspensions were for destruction of property, the use of drugs and/or alcohol or other criminal activity. Third, no group of students was immune from suspension. However, there appeared to be a disproportionate impact on students who were black, older, poor, and male. Secondary students were suspended nine times as frequently as elementary students. Blacks were suspended at twice the rate of any other racial minority. Black students were more likely than whites to be suspended if both had committed the same offense. Finally, suspension or expulsion was not needed to maintain order or to discipline students in the majority of cases. No interviewed school official believed suspension helped students. The rationale by administrators for the use of suspension was "to get parents in."

The Office of Civil Rights School Survey (1976-77), found that black students accounted for 24 percent of the student population in the more than fifteen thousand school districts surveyed, yet they accounted for 36 percent of the suspensions during the same period. During the years 1974-79, twenty

Special Students Concerns Projects were funded by the United States Department of Education to study the reasons underlying the disproportionate suspension of black students and the development and implementation of strategies to help alleviate the problems. A recent study by the National Coalition of Advocates for Students (1985) continues to support earlier findings. The study found that black students were suspended three times as often as white students at the high school level. While black students were about 25 percent of the school population, they constituted about 40 percent of all suspended students.

These findings brought into the limelight a series of charges and countercharges as well as a list of questions. Some of the questions include:

> Do minority group children, particularly black children, misbehave more?
>
> Do teachers and administrators from middle-class backgrounds just not understand children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds? If not, should the teachers and administrators or the children do the adjusting?
>
> How much do family background and structure influence a child's behavior in school, and ultimately, his/her chances of being suspended or expelled?
>
> Does poor academic achievement lead to poor behavior?
>
> How much are the schools themselves at fault? (Neill, 1976:6).

Attention is often directed towards the inability of students to cope with problems associated with schools. This notion implied that school disorders existed primarily because students had developed a dislike for authority and a lack of respect for administrators and teachers. A contrasting point of view suggested that students were not totally responsible for the disruption and chaos that was evident in some public schools. The differing perceptions of disciplinary problems by administrators, teachers and students along with the evidence of disproportionality in suspension rates warranted a study of factors other than student behavior as contributors to school disruptions.

For the past several years, the lack of discipline in the public schools has been regarded as a major problem facing the nation's schools. Disruptive student behavior is a major factor contributing to teacher stress and job satisfaction. Parents echo teachers' concerns regarding student behavior in the schools. The 1985 Gallup Poll indicated that in sixteen of the last seventeen years, discipline was regarded as the number one problem in the schools as perceived by the public.

Recently, studies have been undertaken to identify characteristics and practices of schools which foster good discipline. The Phi Delta Kappa Commission on Discipline (1982) identified the following characteristics of schools with effective discipline.

1. All faculty members and students are involved in problem solving.
2. The school is viewed as a place to experience success.
3. Problem solving focuses on causes rather than symptoms.
4. Emphasis is on positive behaviors and preventive measures.
5. The principal is a strong leader.

The authors note that the most significant finding emerging from the study was that there is no single formula for success. Schools exhibit exemplary discipline because teachers, administrators and students put forth the effort to create a positive environment.

The Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, after conducting extensive reviews of classroom management research, identified several practices which can prevent or reduce the likelihood of classroom disruption in *Student Discipline and Motivation: Research Synthesis* (1982). The following findings were generated from the study.

1. Classroom management which is characterized by a high degree of structure; clear and consistently enforced rules; and teacher awareness, monitoring, feedback and reinforcement has a positive effect on time-on-task and achievement, and is effective in preventing/reducing student misbehavior.
2. Behavioral and motivational improvements produced by offering students material rewards for displaying desired behaviors tend to be temporary, to occur only in settings where the reward system is in effect and to undermind intrinsic motivation.
3. Behavioral and motivational improvements achieved by social means such as teacher feedback, peer pressure and recognition ceremonies tend to maintain over time and to generalize to new situations.
4. School and classroom structures which enable students to experience academic or social success are effective in enhancing motivation and remediating disciplinary problems.
5. Punishment which is commensurate with the offense and which is accompanied by support and assistance is effective in reducing student misbehavior; punishment which is excessive, applied inequitably or delivered without support is ineffective in remediating misbehavior (Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1982: 5-11).

Wynne (1981) reported a consistent understanding of policies and rules by staff in schools with effective discipline. Rules were firm, fair and consistent. Staff members perceived rule enforcement as a professional responsibility and administrative support was available. Schools with effective discipline reviewed their policies and rules on a regular basis and provided all students with current copies of the policies and rules.

Practical findings emanated from the study conducted by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory (1984). The following findings are well documented in the effective schools literature (Thompson, 1967; Weber, 1971; Brookover *et al.*, 1979; Edmonds, 1979; Rutter *et al.*, 1979; and Stallings, 1981).

1. A written code of conduct specified acceptable student behavior, discipline procedures and consequences; students, parents and staff know the code; students and staff received initial training and periodic reviews of key features.
2. Disciplinary procedures are routine and quick to administer. Disciplinary action quickly follows infraction and is always consistent with the code, treatment is equitable for all students. Follow-up and action for absenteeism and tardiness normally occur within a day.
3. Students are told why they are being disciplined, in terms of the code of conduct.

4. Discipline is administered in a neutral, matter-of-fact-way; the disciplinarian focuses on the student's behavior, not on personality.
5. Out of school suspensions or expulsions are minimal; in-school suspension is used in most cases (Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1984: 9).

It is a widely accepted fact that, within a school district, one school may exhibit more of a student behavior problem than another. That is, some schools are more successful than others in alleviating student behavior problems (Phi Delta Kappa, 1980). Clearly, work is needed which will attempt to identify factors within the organization of the school which influence school climate and student behavior. The study described on the following pages was designed to assess the perceptions of professional staff in the school district on variables related to student discipline. The study was requested by the superintendent of the midwestern, urban school district to assist in the development of an empirically based professional development plan.

Objectives

The objectives of the study were to:

1. identify teachers' perceptions on *school climate* which influence student behavior.
2. identify teachers' perceptions on *student discipline* which influence student behavior.
3. identify teachers' perceptions on *administrator, teacher, parent and student interaction* which influence student behavior.
4. identify teachers' perceptions on *school adequacy* which influence student behavior.
5. compare the teachers' perceptions on the aforementioned variables as related to the race, sex or grade level of the respondent.

Methodology

The questionnaire was a composite of forty-two (42) items drawn to measure four relevant scales: school climate; student discipline; administrator, teacher, parent and student interaction; and school adequacy. Additionally, demographic data (i.e., sex, race, grade level and position) were collected from the respondents. The items selected for the questionnaire were modified from questionnaires utilized in previous school climate, school desegregation, and/or student discipline research. The primary sources of items were: *The Project for the Equitable Administration of Student Discipline* (Bennett & Harris, 1980) (Items 1-14 and 24-42), and the *Project Student Concerns: A Study of Minority Student Suspension* (Bickel & Qualls, 1979) (Items 15-23).

The four scales and their definitions were as follows:

1. *School Climate* was defined as the degree to which professional educators view the school as cheerful, yet a positive learning environment where people respect one another and feel welcomed.
2. *Student Discipline* was defined as the degree to which disciplinary procedures in the school are firm, fair and consistently applied to all students.
3. *Administrator, Teacher, Parent and Student Interaction* was defined as the level of positive inter-racial interaction between the various school groups (i.e., administrators, teachers, parents and students).

4. *School Adequacy* was defined as the level of availability and utilization of special programs, support staff and equipment within a school.

Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients were computed to assess the reliability of each scale in the questionnaire. The results ranged from .88 to .92 with the exception of the School Adequacy scale which was a cluster of miscellaneous items that were not conceptually homogeneous. Therefore, no reliability was computed.

The population of professional educators in this study included all principals, teachers and other certificated personnel. All professioanl educators in the district was requested to respond to the questionnaire. The total number of administrators in the district was 97. The total number of teachers in the district was 1065. In this study, the total number of respondents was 471 (5 administrators, 456 teachers and 10 others). It should be noted that due to the time of the year when the questionnaire was administered, many teachers and administrators may not have received the questionnaire.

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to determine whether any of the differences by sex, race or grade level were significant for the scales. The level of significance was reported at the .01 level. The items in the School Adequacy scale were not conceputally homogeneous. Therefore, each item within that scale was analyzed individually according to the percentage of responses to that item.

There were five possible choices for each item. The response format for School Climate (Scale A) and Student Discipline (Scale B) was (1) = Almost Always; (2) = Often; (3) = About Half the Time; (4) = Seldom; and (5) = Almost Never. For Administrator, Teacher, Parent and Student Interaction (Scale C), the response format was (1) = High; (2) = Above Average; (3) = Average; (4) = Below Average; and (5) = Low. For School Adequacy (Scale D), the response format was (1) = More than Adequate; (2) = Adequate; (3) = Somewhat Inadequate; (4) = Considerably Inadequate; and (5) = Do Not Have or Know.

Results

Significant differences ($F = 10.01$, $p < .01$) were found between the perceptions of black professional educators ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 0.70$) when compared to the perceptions of white professional educators ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 0.75$) on the school climate scale (Table 1). The mean scores indicated a more positive perception for the black professional educators on this scale. Previous studies have not consistently shown significant difference in the perceptions of educators by race on school climate in the schools (Ogle, 1986). The fact that this school district has a high concentration of minority students may contribute to this finding.

Table 1
ANOVA: School Climate by Race

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	1	5.00	5.00	10.01	.002
Within Groups	448	223.77	.50		
Total	449	228.77			

Male versus female comparisons revealed significant differences on the school climate scale (F = 18.89, p<.001) and the student discipline scale (F = 12.99, p.<.001) (Tables 2 and 3). Mean scores indicated more positive perceptions for female professional educators when compared to male professional educators on these scales (School Climate: M = 2.08, SD = 0.70 (female), M = 2.41, SD = 0.80 (male) and Student Discipline: M = 1.98, SD = 0.80 (female), M = 2.41, SD = 0.80 (male)).

Table 2
ANOVA: School Climate by Sex

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	1	9.19	9.19	18.89	.001
Within Groups	455	231.35	.49		
Total	456	230.54			

Table 3
ANOVA: Student Discipline by Sex

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	1	8.27	8.27	12.99	.001
Within Groups	455	289.42	.64		
Total	456	297.68			

When the data were analyzed to assess any significant differences by grade level, the following findings were observed. Significant differences were found between the perceptions of professional educators by grade level on the school climate scale (F = 27.23, p<.001) and the student discipline scale (F = 26.89, p<.001) (Tables 4 and 5). As might be expected, the perceptions of the professional educators became less positive as the grade level increased (School Climate: M = 1.98, SD = 0.67 (elementary), M = 2.40, SD = 0.74 (junior high) and M = 2.52, SD = 0.73 (high school); Student Discipline: M = 1.86, SD = 0.77 (elementary), M = 2.22, SD = 0.85 (junior high) and M = 2.53, SD = 0.73 (high school)).

It should be noted that although no significant differences existed between the perceptions of professional educators by race, sex or grade level on the administrator, teacher, parent and student interaction scale, the mean scores indicated positive perceptions. The mean scores for the scale ranged from 1.65 (elementary) to 1.92 (high school).

Because the items in the school adequacy scale were not conceptually homogeneous, each item was analyzed individual according to the percentage

Table 4
ANOVA: School Climate by Grade Level

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	2	26.30	13.15	27.23	.001
Within Groups	458	221.19	.48		
Total	460	247.49			

Table 5
ANOVA: Student Discipline by Grade Level

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	2	33.02	16.51	26.89	.001
Within Groups	458	281.24	.61		
Total	460	314.26			

of responses to the item. No item was perceived as significantly adequate or inadequate (i.e., more than 90 percent).

Discussion

Most researchers agree that the leadership of the school principal is an important factor in fostering positive student discipline (Brodbelt, 1980; Kaeser, 1979). Bennett and Harris (1982) found that teacher and administrator perceptions of a favorable interracial climate and staff support for integration were related to schools exhibiting positive student discipline. However, "leadership that facilitates development of a positive organizational climate and an effective instructional program is important but probably not sufficient to correct racial disparity in the enforcement of school discipline" (Eyler *et al.*, 1983: 159).

A positive school climate and good student discipline have been associated with teacher concern and cooperation (Rutter *et al.*, 1979 and Phi Delta Kappa, 1980); consistent rewards and punishment (Breckenridge, 1976; Rutter *et al.*, 1979; Wynne, 1980; and Phi Delta Kappa, 1980); clearly defined school goals and behavior policies (Ellett *et al.*, 1977; Phi Delta Kappa, 1980; and Wynne, 1980); consensus by teachers and administrators on student discipline and behavior (Wynne, 1980); and principal visibility (Saxe, 1968; Kostman, 1972; and Valenti, 1977). Forehand *et al.* (1976) reported that the principal's racial attitudes had a direct influence on teachers' attitudes. Forehand and

Ragosta (1976) found that if all students view the school as an environment where adults promote equity and where respect is consistent and visible, the students will experience this model and reflect it in their daily behavior.

Limited research is available which links school adequacy or school resources to student discipline. Although, as stated by Clark *et al.* (1980), it appears that facilities are only as effective as the principal and teachers who utilize them.

In this study, professional educators at the elementary level, where disciplinary problems are less severe, perceived school climate and student discipline in a more positive manner. It is evident that junior high and high schools can foster positive student discipline by initiating identified policies and procedures. Schools contribute to their students' academic achievement by establishing, communicating and enforcing fair and consistent discipline policies. The discipline policies of most successful schools share the following common traits:

1. Discipline policies are aimed at actual problems, not rumors.
2. All members of the school community are involved in creating a policy that reflects community values and is adapted to the needs of the school.
3. Misbehavior is defined. Because not everyone agrees on what behavior is undesirable, defining problems is the first step in solving them. Students must know what kinds of behavior are acceptable and what kinds are not.
4. Discipline policies are consistently enforced. Students must know the consequences of misbehavior, and they must believe they will be treated fairly.
5. A readable and well-designed handbook is often used to inform parents and sudents about the school's discipline policy. (USDE, 1986).

In summary, it appears that schools are not helpless in the face of the forces that influence a student before (s)he arrives at school. Schools can and do make a difference. For many urban students, effective schooling is the only mechanism that will trigger social and economic advancement. However, there must be demonstrated commitment on the part of school administrators and teachers to create a school environment that will foster and promote educational excellence with equity.

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EFFECTS OF CHILDREN'S SOCIAL CLASS, RACE AND GENDER ON TEACHER EXPECTATIONS FOR CHILDREN'S ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE: A STUDY IN AN URBAN SETTING

Mieko Kotake Smith

Introduction

It has been found that both mother and teacher expectations are associated with the child's academic performance, and that the teacher's expectations in particular affect the child's future performance (Smith, 1980; Crano & Mello, 1978). These findings corroborate numerous experimental and nonexperimental studies of the relationships between teacher expectations and the child's performance.

If expectations of individuals significant to the child are so influential to the child's performance, then educators must ensure that classroom teachers hold consistently positive expectations for all children. This study examines whether teachers hold different expectations for the the children of different characteristics, i.e., gender, race and socio-economic status, and if so, how those expectations differ.

Review of Literature

Mendels and Flanders (1973) suggest possible sources from which a teacher derives expectations for a child. The child's characteristics, such as gender, color, and physical appearance, are a few of the factors influencing the formation of teacher expectations on either a conscious or unconscious level.

The teacher holds general expectancies for the entire class in various areas, although expectations for individual children may be seen as deviations from the general expectancy held for the class. These deviations occur as a result of the teacher's reactions to such factors as the pupils' past achievement in unrelated areas, physical characteristics (gender and race), socio-economic status, and appearance and personal qualities, including teacher-pleasing behavior (Feldhusen, Thurston, & Benning, 1970; Tom, Cooper & McGraw, 1984; Babad & Inbar, 1982). These factors are often related to assigning children to specific classes (Rist, 1970; Leinhardt, 1982).

Achievement differences by gender have been widely studied. A number of authors (Lewis, 1972; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1971; Maccoby, 1966; Marshall, 1984) suggest that the different behavior of the genders results from early childhood sex stereotyping, which thereby limits and directs the range of cognitive and emotional development for both genders. However, it is not yet certain whether the actual achievements of the genders are different. Serbin and her associates (1973) conclude that "all comments on the potential effects of various patterns of teacher-child behavior on social and cognitive development are highly speculative" (p. 803). What is clear, however, is that adult expectations and behavior toward children often differ according to the child's gender. Brophy and Good (1970) have demonstrated that boys receive more teacher criticism and disapproval than do girls. Much of the criticism, however, is directed to the boys' behavior itself rather than to their academic performance. The student will show high achievement despite teacher attitudes regarding the student's personality qualities, if the student perceives the teacher's high academic expectations of him/her.

Palardy (1969) indicates that differences in performance by gender are due to teacher perception, rather than child capability. In his study, reading scores of pupils were compared both in the classes where teachers believed boys to be as successful as girls, and in the classes where teachers expected boys to be less successful than girls. There were no significant differences between boys' and girls' reading scores for the first group of teachers; however, girls showed significantly higher reading scores than boys for the second group of teachers. It seems that children of both sexes demonstrated their abilities on the basis of perceived differential teacher expectancy, which is implicitly or explicitly expressed in teacher behavior. The pupils' estimates limit their motivation and subsequent performance (Brophy & Good, 1970; Brattesani *et al.*, 1984).

Wylie (1963) has investigated junior high school students' estimates of their school work ability as a function of gender, race, and socio-economic level. He found that white girls gave more modest estimates of their ability than did white boys. Wylie states that the girls' lower estimates of their ability reflect lower teacher expectations for girls in junior high school. The same author observed more modest estimates of their ability among black students than among white students. Similarly, his respondents from lower socio-economic levels made more modest estimates of their ability than did those of higher socio-economic levels.

Differential achievement for blacks and whites has been discussed by numerous researchers. As early as 1940, Davis and Dollard indicated that differential expectations were held for the behavior of black pupils in both all-black and integrated schools. These differential expectations for black and white children are conveyed to them and affect teacher behavior and pupil performance (Brophy & Good, 1970; Rothbart, Dalfan & Barrett, 1971; Babad, 1980).

Coates' (1972) study demonstrated that there is an interaction of the gender of the adult and the race of the child in white adult behavior toward black and white children. In the study of adults who were facilitating children's discrimination learning, male trainers were more negative with black children than with white children, whereas there was no significant difference between the two races for female trainers. On the ratings of the children following the session, both males and females rated black children more negatively than white children. The author was unable to determine whether the findings were only the consequences of stereotyping by adults of black and white children or the trait ratings based on personality characteristics of the children themselves.

Finn (1972) provides some insight on this issue in a study of teacher attitudes toward child ability by gender and race. It was found that the geographic locale of the school influenced the magnitudes of differential teacher expectations. Urban teachers had a tendency to be more strongly affected by the pupils' race and gender in evaluating student performance than did teachers in suburban schools. Finn states:

> The suburban teachers, unlike their urban counterparts, are more likely to have additional facilities for working with unusually bright or dull pupils. And the suburban teachers, unlike their urban counterparts, are living and working in an environment where expectations held by all are that a desirable level of achievement *can* be attained, that the pupils will be at least moderately well-prepared for the new year, and that adequate facilities and resources are available and may be used productively. That is, in an environment where more general expectations are higher, the expectation that all children may achieve at a given level, regardless of sex, race, and perhaps ability, is more realistic [p. 406].

Propositions and Hypotheses

This study examined the relationship between teacher expectations and the child's characteristics, such as socio-economic status, race and gender. Expectations are communicated to the child through implicit and explicit behaviors of the teacher and affect the child's performance in school.

The use of existing data imposed some limitations on the design and instrumentation for this study. Within these limitations, the best efforts were made to select the most suitable and appropriate indicators in order to examine the relationships among the variables.

Examined were the effects of the child's gender, race and socio-economic status on the expectations held by the teacher. The following hypotheses were proposed for this study.

1. Teachers hold significantly higher expectations for pupils of higher socioeconomic status than for pupils of lower socioeconomic status.
2. Educational expectations held by teachers for their white, black, and Puerto Rican pupils are not significantly different according to race.
3. Educational expectations held by teachers for male and female pupils are not significantly different.

Method

This study attempted to test the hypotheses by utilizing the data collected for the study of family-school socialization of young children (DHEW No. 90C-632). The study focused on "the family's expectations, orientations, and cultural practices with regard to the educational system and the system's expectations, orientations and practices concerning the child and his family, that is, the linkage between the two" (Fleming & Sussman, 1986, p. 1).

The results of the pilot study, conducted with a sample of a community in the Cleveland area, were utilized for refining conceptualization of the research question, formulating hypotheses to be tested in a three-year study in progress, and revising the instruments and procedures. The data collected in the pilot study were added to the sample for the longitudinal study collected in two other communities of different socioeconomic and racial characteristics. The study was designed as a survey rather than as a controlled experiment.

Time 1 teacher interviews were conducted in October. By this time, it is expected that the teachers have formed their initial opinions of the children in their classroom, as well as their expectations for the children's future performance. Time 2 data were collected during the spring. The same data collection process was followed for two additional years.

Sampling

The sample constituted the first-born children and their teachers in three Cleveland area communities. The children in the first cohort were entering elementary school in a community which is racially well mixed. During the following year, the second and third cohorts of the first-born children entering kindergarten were selected from a predominantly white community and a predominantly black community, respectively. The fourth and fifth cohorts were selected from the children who were entering kindergarten in the same communities as the second and third cohorts during the third year.

After identifying all first-born children from the central records or records kept by each school, researchers developed a stratified sample with several characteristics: racial or ethnic backgrounds, social class of families, family structure (nuclear or single-parent family), and the parent's career pattern (single career or dual career). Telephone calls were made to the parent or guardian of each child to obtain permission for the child to be included in the study.

The three communities from which the sample was drawn represent widely divergent characteristics. Community 1, in which the sample for the pilot study was drawn, is an industrial city. In the 1975-76 school year, the population was 78,529, with 63 percent white, 20 percent black, 16 percent Puerto Rican, and one percent American Indian and Asian. According to the reports from the nine participating schools in the community, 39 percent of the families of children entering school in 1975 were classified as low income for the purpose of Title I funding.

Community 2 is a relatively affluent city with a population of approximately 65,000. The ten elementary schools in the system participated in the study during the 1975-76 and 1976-77 school years. The system reported that the enrollment in their public schools had been declining since this period, due to an increasing number of children entering parochial schools. There were .5 percent Spanish-speaking students and less than 1 percent black students enrolled during the two years of the study.

Community 3 is a residential city with some light industry, and a large proportion of black families. Four schools out of six in the community participated in the study. Forty-eight percent of the families in these schools were classified as low income. The racial composition of the students attending during the 1975-76 school year was 96 percent black, 3 percent white, and .4 percent Asian and Spanish-speaking.

The number of children in each cohort is listed in Table 1.

Data Collection

Information for this study was assembled through various records, including the report of the pilot project conducted in Community 1 and various written communications among the research staff. This writer's personal communications with the research staff of the original study were also incorporated. Results of the original study were not available to this writer at the time of completion of this study.

Table 1
Number of Children by Cohort

Cohort		Total Number of Children
Community 1:	Cohort 1 (1974)	105
Community 2:	Cohort 2 (1975)	116
	Cohort 4 (1976)	120
Community 3:	Cohort 3 (1975)	71
	Cohort 5 (1976)	68
Total		481

Data collection for the study began in August 1974 for a one-year pilot project conducted with the sample in Community 1. The interviews of thirty first grade teachers of the children in the study were conducted in October. Substitute teachers were supplied to the classrooms while the teachers were interviewed. In order to minimize the effect which the interview might have on the teacher's future interaction with the sample children, each teacher was asked questions regarding eight to ten of the students, although only one to five were part of the sample. The responses of the teachers about non-sample children were destroyed. Teachers were contacted again during the spring. This study utilized only the data collected from the teachers at Time 1 and Time 2.

Measurement of Variables

Since this study involved a secondary analysis of the data collected for another study, the manipulation of instrumentation was not feasible. Therefore, the main efforts were directed in search of the most appropriate measurements available from the collected data in order to measure the constructs in the study.

The Teacher's Expectation for the Child's Educational Performance

Teacher expectation for the child's educational performance was referred to as "the teacher's estimate of the child's achievement ability in the academic area." Teacher expectation for the child's educational attainment was measured by the teacher's response to the question, "How far do you think (the child's name) will actually go in school?" The answer categories ranged from one, the completion of less than high school, to seven, the completion of post-graduate or professional school. The eighth category, stating "whatever makes child happy," was treated as a missing answer as well as "don't know."

Social Class

Socio-economic status was measured by Hollingshead's (1959) Index of Social Position Scores, which are calculated from the head of household's occupation or profession, and education. Greater weight is given to occupation than to education in the calculation.

Race or Ethnic Group

Race or ethnic group of the child was divided into three groups: white, black and Puerto Rican.

Data Analysis

The hypotheses regarding teacher expectations for the child's educational attainment as associated with the child's gender, race, and socio-economic status were tested by three-way analysis of variance. Although teacher expectations for the child's educational attainment, the dependent variables, were not interval data in a strict sense, the data were treated as if they were interval. The expectations were coded in the categories ranging from one to seven, according to the expected level of formal educational attainment.

Results

Race and Gender

The sample children in each of the three communities represented distinctively different compositions: the sample in Community 1 was composed of 25.5 percent black, 53.3 percent white and 21.0 percent Puerto Rican; in Community 2 both Cohort 2 and Cohort 4 were almost exclusively white; and 94.0 percent of Cohort 3 and 91.2 percent of Cohort 5 in Community 3 were black. Race and gender distributions of the sample children in each cohort are presented in Table 2.

As shown in Table 2, the sex ratio of the Puerto Rican students in Cohort 1 was highly disproportionate: 4 males (18 percent) and 18 females (82 percent). For the black and white children, the male-female ratio was approximately even.

Table 2

Race and Gender Distributions of the Sample Children by Cohort

	Community 1	Community 2		Community 3		Total
	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 4	Cohort 3	Cohort 5	
Black	27(25.5%)	0	2(1.7%)	63(94.0%)	62(91.2%)	154
Male	13	0	0	39	32	84
Female	14	0	2	24	30	70
White	56(53.5%)	112(100%)	118(93.3%)	4(6.0%)	6(8.8%)	296
Male	21	54	61	2	1	129
Female	35	58	57	2	5	157
Puerto Rican	22(21.0%)	0	0	0	0	22
Male	4	0	0	0	0	4
Female	18	0	0	0	0	18
Unknown		(5)		(4)		(9)
Total	105	117	120	71	68	481

Family Income

The majority of the families in all communities made less than $15,000 per year: 84.8 percent of the families in Community 1, 61.3 percent in Community 2, and 70.7 percent in Community 3. This phenomenon may be partly attributed to the fact that parents of the first-born children tended to be rather young, and therefore in an entry level of the occupational ladders: approximately 60.0 percent of the fathers were 32 years of age or under. In both Community 1 and Community 3, approximately 22.0 percent of the families had a yearly income of less than 5,000, while only 3.4 percent of the families in Community 2 had the same level of yearly income. Thus, the families in Community 2 had higher incomes than the families in Community 1 and Community 3.

Parents' Education

Educational attainment of the parents varied greatly. However the proportion of the parents with less education than high school graduate was the highest in Community 1: 32.9 percent of the fathers and 32.4 percent of the mothers. Community 2 had a large number of parents with a college degree or higher: 23.0 percent of the fathers and 8.8 percent of the mothers of Cohort 2; 33.0 percent of the fathers and 18.3 percent of the mothers of Cohort 4. The majority of the parents in Community 3 had completed a high school education, while a number of parents had a college degree or higher.

Socio-economic Status

Socio-economic status of the families was divided into five categories, according to the Hollingshead's Index of Social Position Scores. Individuals who were high level executives and major professionals with a higher level of education are classified into Social Class I, while unskilled workers or the unemployed with a lower level of education are classified into Social Class V.

The distributions of the families' socio-economic status were significantly different by cohort ($\varkappa = 78.46$; df = 16; $p < .0001$). Despite differences in social class among the cohorts, the majority of all cohorts were in lower socio-economic classes, specifically Social Class IV and Social Class V.

Family Structure

Families in each cohort displayed distinctively different family structures. Community 3, where the sample was predominantly black, had the highest proportion of single-parent families, followed by Community 1. This phenomenon was generally consistent with the national statistics which indicates that a greater number of black mothers are heads of households than are white mothers. However, when the relationship between socio-economic status and family structure was examined, it became clear that social class was the intervening factor: as the social class of the family declined, the proportion of the non-intact families increased.

The fact that there were more single mothers in Community 3 resulted in another phenomenon; that is, there were more mothers employed full-time in Community 3: approximately 38 percent of the mothers held a full-time job in Community 3, while only 14 percent of the mothers in Community 2 worked on a full-time basis. Information concerning the mother's work status was not available for the mothers in Community 1.

Teachers

The teachers were predominantly female: of 448 teachers, 437 were female; 11 were male. All male teachers were white and taught in Community 2 where the students were predominantly white. Seven black teachers and 92 white teachers participated in the study in Community 1. Thirteen black teachers were included in the study in Community 2. More than half of the teachers in Community 3 were black. Thus, more black teachers were found in the community where students were predominantly black, while white teachers were in all types of communities.

Hypotheses Testing

Prior to all analyses, five social classes were collapsed into two categories, in an attempt to ensure at least ten cases in each cell for analysis of variance of the dependent variables: Social Classes I, II and II were collapsed together and labeled as "the upper-middle class," and Classes IV and V were combined and labeled as "the lower class." "The upper-middle class" in this study should not be confused with "the upper-middle class" used in many studies as being opposed to the lower-middle class. All analyses involved Time 1 and Time 2 data since those data were available for all the cohorts in the study.

Prior to conducting the analyses of variance to test hypotheses, teacher expectation scores for a child's academic performance were examined. Means and standard deviations of teacher expectation scores by the child's race, social class, and gender at Time 1 and Time 2 are shown in Table 3.

Time 1 data for only one upper-middle class, Puerto Rican male and female Puerto Rican student were available, and the data for the male student were missing at Time 2. Also, the data on only one male Puerto Rican student

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of Time 1 and Time 2 Teacher Expectations for the Child's Academic Performance by Social Class, Race and Gender

	Time 1			Time 2		
	X	(N)	SD	X	(N)	SD
Upper Middle Class						
Black Male	4.32	(19)	1.67	4.14	(7)	1.22
Black Female	5.14	(22)	1.58	6.50	(4)	0.58
White Male	5.13	(64)	1.35	5.40	(20)	1.10
White Female	4.84	(70)	1.47	5.32	(28)	1.16
Puerto Rican Male	6.00	(1)	0.00	—		—
Puereto Rican Female	6.00	(1)	0.00	7.00	(1)	0.00
Lower Class						
Black Male	3.91	(52)	1.46	4.23	(22)	1.34
Black Female	4.15	(39)	1.35	3.72	(18)	1.27
White Male	4.12	(60)	1.55	4.59	(22)	1.40
White Female	4.09	(77)	1.45	4.80	(40)	1.31
Puerto Rican Male	4.33	(3)	2.08	3.00	(1)	0.00
Puerto Rican Female	3.33	(15)	1.29	3.13	(15)	1.36

in the lower class were available at Time 2. Therefore, Puerto Rican students were eliminated from three-way analysis of variance for the teacher expectations in all communities.

Three-way analysis of the teacher's expectations for the child's academic performance at Time 1 and Time 2 in a 2 × 2 × 2 design was conducted. The results of Time 1 teacher expectations are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

ANOVA Summary Table for Teacher Expectations of Child Academic Performance at Time 1

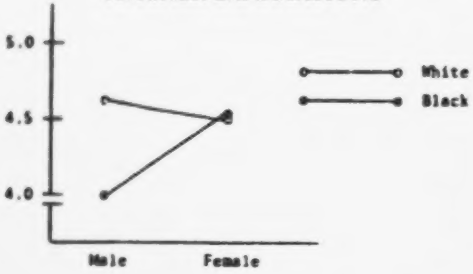
Source	df	MS	F
Gender (A)	1	2.855	1.332
Race (B)	1	2.172	1.013
Social Class (C)	1	49.204	22.951**
A × B	1	9.367	4.369*
A × C	1	0.500	0.233
B × C	1	0.676	0.315
A × B × C	1	3.418	1.594
Residual	397	2.144	
Total	404	2.321	

** $p < .0001$ *$p < .05$

There were significant effects of social class ($F = 22.951$; $p < .0001$) and interaction of gender and race ($F = 4.369$; $p < .05$) on Time 1 teacher expectations. The mean teacher expectation score for the upper-middle class children was 4.94, while it was 4.02 for the lower class children. The interaction effect of gender and race is plotted in Figure 1.

Figure 1

GENDER AND RACE INTERACTION FOR TIME 1 TEACHER EXPECTATIONS



Dunn's post hoc tests revealed that only the comparison between the mean for the white male and the mean for the black male was significant ($t = -2.2$; $p < .05$). Thus, the teachers held significantly higher expectations for the white male students than for the black male students. Among white students, the males received higher teacher expectations than did the females, while black female students received higher teacher expectations than did their male counterparts. However, the differences were not statistically significant. The results of analysis of variance of Time 2 teacher expectations are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

ANOVA Summary Table for Teacher Expectations of Child Academic Performance at Time 2

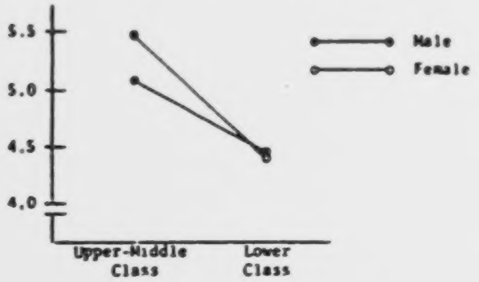
Source	df	MS	F
Gender (A)	1	6.047	3.824*
Race (B)	1	3.554	2.247
Social Class (C)	1	24.909	15.751***
A × B	1	4.559	2.883
A × C	1	10.197	6.448**
A × B × C	1	15.263	9.652**
Residual	153	1.581	
Total	160	1.875	

*** p<.0001 ** p<.01 * p<.06

There was a significant main effect of social class (F = 15.751; p<.0001), and the effect of gender on the teacher's expectation at Time 2 was approaching the significance level of .05 (F = 3.824; p<.06). There was also a significant two-way interaction effect of gender and social class (F = 6.448; p<.01) and an equally significant effect of three-way interaction of gender, race, and social class (F = 9.652; p<.01). The mean of the teacher expectations for both black and white male students was 4.66, while the mean expectations score for the black and white female students was 4.82. The mean teacher expectations score for the upper-middle class students was 5.32 which was much higher than the 4.26 mean expections score for the lower class students. The mean teacher expectations scores for each gender and social class are plotted in Figure 2.

Figure 2

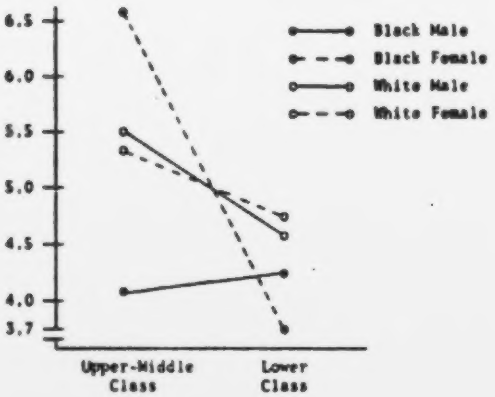
GENDER AND SOCIAL CLASS INTERACTION OF TIME 2 TEACHER EXPECTATIONS



As shown in Figure 2, there was a difference in teacher expectations by gender for the students in the upper and middle classes, with the teacher expecting slightly more of the female students than of the male students. On the other hand, the teachers held almost the same expectations for the lower class students of both sexes. Dunn's post hoc test revealed, however, that only the comparison between the upper-middle class female and the lower class female was statistically significant (t = 2.86; p<.01). In order to interpret the three-way interaction of gender, race, and social class, mean scores of each cell were plotted and presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3

TIME 2 TEACHER EXPECTATIONS BY GENDER, RACE AND SOCIAL CLASS



The teachers had extremely differentiated expectations for the upper-middle class black female students and the lower class black female students. The former received the highest expectations score (6.50) and the latter recieved the lowest expectations score (3.73) among all the groups. The teachers held generally lower expectations for the lower class students than for their upper-middle class counterparts, except for the black male students. The upper and middle class black students received slightly lower teacher expectations than the lower class students. Differences in teacher expectations by class were small for the white female students. Among the white students, the upper and middle class male students recieved higher teacher expectations than did the female students in the same social class, while the lower class female students received higher expectations than the male students from their teachers.

All possible pairs of the groups were compared by Dunn's pair-wise comparison procedures. The mean teacher expectations score for the upper-middle class black female was significantly different from the mean teacher expectation scores for all other groups except the upper class white male and the upper class white female. Among lower class students, only the comparison between the teacher expectation scores for the white female and the black female was significant ($t = 3.02$; $p < .01$). For the white male and female and black male groups, differences in mean teacher expectations scores were not significant by social class.

In order to examine if those findings are supported in each of the different types of communities, analysis of variance of teacher expectations at Time 1 and Time 2 was conducted with the sample in the racially mixed community (Community 1). Puerto Rican students were included in the analysis. At Time 1, there were no significant differences in teacher expectations by the child's gender, race, and social class. At Time 2, however, there was a significant effect of social class ($p < .05$) and a slightly significant effect of race ($p < .06$). The mean expectations scores for the upper-middle class and the lower class were 5.22 and 3.87, respectively. Note that 74 percent of the sample in this community belong to the lower class. The mean expectations scores for the black, white, and Puerto Rican children were 3.33, 4.84 and 3.35, respectively. Thus, the white students received higher expectations from their teachers than did their black or Puerto Rican counterparts.

Results obtained for the black and white sample exhibited a very similar pattern to the results in all communities together, with the white students receiving generally higher teacher expectations than the black students. Among the black students, the upper-middle class children received lower teacher expectations than did the lower class students. Among the Puerto Rican students, one student who was in the upper-middle class received an extremely high teacher expectation score compared to other Puerto Rican students who were in the lower class. The teacher expectations for these lower class Puerto Rican students were the lowest among all racial and socio-economic groups. Thus, the results indicate that the teachers did not have differentiated expectations for the students by their gender, race or social class in the beginning of the year in Community 1, but they held differentiated expectations for the students by race and social class in the second year.

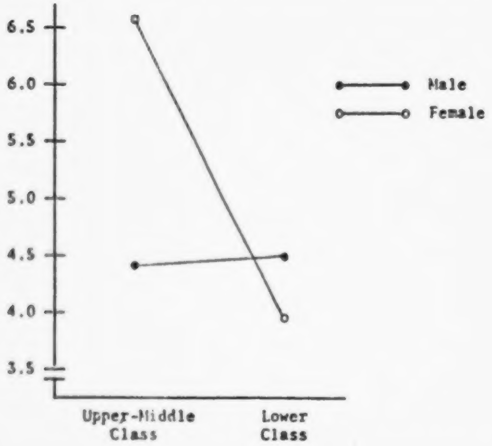
The effects of gender and social class on the teacher's expectations were examined in the two other communities: one, predominantly white (Community 2), and the other, predominantly black (Community 3).

In Community 2, in which most of the students were white, the effect of social class on Time 1 teacher expectations was significant ($F = 20.292$; $p < .0001$). The mean expectation scores for the upper-middle class students and the lower class students were 4.93 and 4.02, respectively. At Time 2, none of the main effects or interaction effects were significant.

The results of analysis of variance in Community 3, in which most of the students were black indicated that the effect of social class on Time 1 teacher expectations was significant ($F = 8.615$; $p < .01$). The mean teacher expectations scores for the upper-middle class students and the lower class students were 4.95 and 4.01, respectively. The teacher expectations were found to be significantly different in relating to the students' social class at Time 2 ($F = 7.178$; $p < .05$). The mean teacher expectations score for the upper-middle class students (5.42) was significantly higher than that for the lower class students (4.24). The interaction effect of gender and social class was also significant ($F = 10.020$; $p < .01$). Mean scores for each cell are plotted in Figure 4.

Figure 4

INTERACTION OF GENDER AND SOCIAL CLASS FOR TIME 2 TEACHER EXPECTATIONS IN COMMUNITY 3



The upper-middle class female children received much higher expectations from their teachers than did their male counterparts, while the lower class male and female children received somewhat similar expectations from their teachers. The lower class male children received slightly higher expectations from their teachers than did the upper-middle class male children.

Post hoc tests using Dunn's pair-wise comparison procedures revealed that the mean teacher expectation score for the upper-middle class female was significantly different from that for the lower class female ($t = 4.14$; $p < .01$), the upper-middle class male ($t = 3.55$; $p < .01$), and the lower class male ($t = 3.55$; $p < .01$). The mean teacher expectations score did not differ significantly among all other groups. It must be noted, however, that the data for the second year were collected only from 41 cases out of 139 sample cases in this community.

In conclusion, there was a signficant effect of social class on teacher expectations at Time 1 and Time 2. This effect was significant in all types of communities, except that the effect of social class was no longer significant at Time 2 in Community 2, where most students were white. Thus, hypothesis 1 was generally supported.

At both Time 1 and Time 2, there was not a significant main effect of race on teacher expectations, when the data of all communities were analyzed together. However, the interaction effect of race, gender and social class was found to be significant at Time 2. Among the upper-middle class students, black female students received the highest teacher expectations, while the black male students received the lowest teacher expectations. For white students, there was no significant difference in teacher expectations by gender. Both male and female black students in the lower class received lower teacher expectations than did the white students in the same class.

In Community 1, where the sample was racially mixed, teacher expectations at Time 2 were found to be significantly different by the child's race:

the teacher held higher expectations for the white children than for the black or Puerto Rican children. Also, the interaction of social class and race was found to be significant in the same analysis. For the white and Puerto Rican students, the teachers held higher expectations if the students belonged to the upper or middle class, while the direction was the opposite for black children. The findings concerning upper-middle class minority students in this community, however, must be interpreted with caution, as the results were derived from a very small sample.

It appears that the teachers tended to develop differentiated expectations by the child's racial characteristics as time passed, especially in the environment where the students represented diverse racial compositions. The teachers tended to hold exceptionally high expectations for the minority students if they were in the upper or middle class, while maintaining lower expectations for the lower class minority students than for the white students in the same social class. Therefore, it was concluded that Hypothesis 2, a null hypothesis, was rejected with a condition that both social class and gender be simultaneously taken into consideration.

With regard to teacher expectations on the basis of a student's gender, the analysis of Time 1 data revealed that the teachers held differentiated expectations by the child's gender for the black students and the white students: the black male students received far lower expectations from their teachers, while the white male students received the highest expectations. Teacher expectations for the female students were very similar between the races, although the black female students received slightly higher expectations than did the white female students.

At Time 2, the main effect of gender became significant, that is, the female students in general received higher teacher expectations than did the male students. The pattern of interaction has also shifted: the two-way interaction of social class and gender and the three-way interaction of race, social class, and gender were found to be significant. Among the upper-middle class students, teacher expectations for the female students were higher than those for the male students, while both the male and female students received similarly low teacher expectations. Differentiated teacher expectations by gender were significant only in the predominantly black community when the data were analyzed by separate community.

From these findings, it was concluded that the null Hypothesis 3 was rejected. Thus, the teachers were found to hold significantly different expectations for the child's academic performance according to the child's gender. Such differentiated expectations by gender became more marked at Time 2. At the same time, teachers became more discriminating in differentiating their expectations by gender: they took the child's social class and race, as well as gender, into account when predicting their academic achievement.

Discussion

Teachers were found to differentiate their expectations for children's academic performance on the basis of their social class, race and gender. First, social class of the child was consistently a factor that affects teacher expectations, corroborating the findings of numerous studies. It is not, however, known how the teachers came to differentiate their students' social class in this study. Rist (1970) observed different physical appearances of children of different social classes, including quality and quantity of clothing, body odor and neatness of hair. This aspect of human behavior may need to be further explored by other researchers to obtain clear insights as to how the teacher determines the social class of the child. Does the teacher obtain cues from the child's clothing or other physical characteristics? Does the teacher judge the child's socio-economic class from the parent's occupation listed in the student information file? Or does the teacher determine the student's social class from general behavior characteristics?

Teacher expectations at the first year were found to be different by the interaction of gender and race of the child. The black male students received the lowest teacher expectations, while the white male students received the highest teacher expectations. There are two possible alternative explanations for this phenomenon: (1) The teachers were simply responding to the differentiated expectations commonly held for the white male and for the black male; (2) The black male students tended to be non-conforming in the classroom. The mean social competence score for the black male students measured in this study was the lowest among the sub-groups of the students of a different race and gender.

Coates (1972) found the trainers responded more negatively to the black children than to the white children after the training, although the female trainers did not differentiate their expectations before training. Thus, it is possible that the female trainers observed negative behavior on the part of the black students. However, Coates (1972) did not specify children's gender in his study. Perhaps, it is more likely that the teachers in the present study formed differentiated expectations for the black male and for the white male students on the basis of both reasons.

In the second year, teacher expectations were found to be more delicately differentiated on all variables. Again, the teacher expectations for the black male students were extremely low for both the upper-middle class male and the lower class male, while the white male students of the upper-middle class received quite high teacher expectations. However, the teacher expectations for the upper and middle class black female students were extremely high. This phenomenon may be interpreted as the teachers were inclined to have higher expectations for white students in general; moreover, that teachers altered their expectations when the minority students in the higher socio-economic strata demonstrated an evidence of high motivation and achievement.

The teachers held consistently lower expectations for the lower class black students than for the lower class white students. One may conclude that the teachers generally held lower expectations for the black students unless otherwise proven to be contradictory by those students. This argument seems to be upheld by the results of the teacher expectations in Community 1 which included the Puerto Rican students in the sample. The black and Puerto Rican students received lower teacher expectations in general, except that one upper-middle class female Puerto Rican student received an extremely high expectation score from her teacher. It is suspected that her performance was so remarkable that the teacher came to have high expectations for her.

In the predominantly white community, the teachers did not differentiate their expectations by the child's gender. The teachers in the predominantly black community, however, differentiated their expectations for the upper-middle class female students, while they had equally lower expectations for all male students and the lower class female students. Thus, race seems to be the important factor, secondary to social class associated with teacher expectations. Gender may be another intervening factor associated with teacher expectations, depending on the child's social class and race.

These differentiated teacher expectations have many implications, since teacher expectations were found to affect children's academic performance (Smith, 1980; Crano and Mellon, 1978). If teachers continue to hold different expectations for a child's performance according to the child's social class, race and gender, it will be quite difficult to break the cycle of expectations and performance. One way to reduce differences in teacher expectations would be curriculum changes in teacher education and continued training of the experienced teachers. Teachers must be encouraged to become aware of their own conscious or unconscious biases toward children who are members of the lower class and minority groups. Needless to say, teachers must be given training to consciously correct their biases.

Finn (1972) stated that, in the communities where sufficient resources are available and the students are at least moderately well-prepared, teachers tend to have higher expectations for all children. Hence, as Wineburg (1987) states, the educational policy changes must be rooted in the social changes in a larger sense. Unless disparities in the resource distribution among local communities are reduced further, changes in teacher education programs and retraining of the current teachers may have limited effects in altering differentiated teacher expectations for the children of different social classes, races, and genders.

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STARTING FROM STRENGTH: ACCELERATED READING PROGRESS FOR AT-RISK CHILDREN

Gay Su Pinnell

> Billy doesn't know the alphabet and he seldom finishes his work. He's always bothering other children and doesn't pay attention. I have to tell him over and over to get busy but it doesn't seem to help. I know he has a deprived background with probably not much reading going on at home; he's on free lunch. But he's just not motivated; of course he can't read. I could tell by the second week of school that he was going to have to repeat the first grade.

That litany is very familiar. It applies to a high percentage of first graders in urban schools and a surprisingly high number of children in suburban and rural schools. Add to the list of complaints words such as "immature," "behavior problem," "attention deficit," "delayed," "possible learning disability," and other descriptors. These are children "at-risk" of failure in reading. They are easily spotted. Often they sit by themselves in a corner of the room or near the teacher's desk. They tend to be a different cultural, racial, or language dialect group from the mainstream culture. They are clustered in one reading group, the one that drills and works on the same things over and over. They sometimes have their names on the board; at least, their names are often called by the teacher, but they seldom have their work on the classroom walls. They are obviously failing and they may display frustration, misbehavior, or passivity.

"These children" can no longer be ignored or conveniently served by minimum investment in some extra help. The population of children traditionally at-risk—the children in poverty—is growing steadily larger. There is an aging white population and a growing group of poor nonwhite children. Currently 24 percent of all kids and 17 percent of school age kids live below the poverty line. That group is expected to increase (Hodgkinson, 1985).

We have been trying to improve education by instituting more testing and raising "standards." As Hodgkinson (1988) says, our concern seems to be "picking winners." Now, he claims, we need to "develop winners." ". . . We need all the middle class members we can get—white, black, Hispanic, and Asian. The school role in making this happen will be crucial."

No one interested in the wellbeing of children would deny the need to "develop winners." How to accomplish that feat is a critical issue for educators and all citizens and nowhere is the issue more important than in the area of literacy. It is virtually impossible in our United States culture for a citizen to achieve success and productive employment at any level above the poverty line without developing at least functional literacy skills. And, the definition of functional literacy continually rises as our society and techology become more complex. Developing middle class members means helping as many children as possible learn to be good readers and writers.

Good readers and good writers develop early in life. Literacy at age six or seven serves the child throughout school and frees him or her to become a fully literate person, capable of continuing to acquire knowledge and understanding for a lifetime. It seems important, therefore, to assure that all children have access to literacy in the early years of their education.

Children who find it difficult to learn to read and write during the first years of school quickly fall behind. They meet failure again and again and require continuous and expensive extra help for many years. Often, they never learn to read very well. It is obvious to parents and educators that when a child cannot read, the problem quickly goes beyond reading to include deficits in subject knowledge, behavior problems, school drop out, and underemployment or unemployment.

The fact that we have been reluctant to intervene during the early years of schooling has compounded the problem. There has been a well intentioned policy of letting children "mature" so that they could be more successful in reading instruction; transition kindergartens, transition first grades, and just plain retention are practices based on the maturity theory. We have believed that when children could not cope easily with the kinds of abstract tasks presented to them in schools, they were "immature" and "not ready" for reading. We keep them longer and present the same tasks over and over, each time making children more and more confused and discouraged.

Teachers have generally believed that children had to pass through certain stages before they were ready for reading and writing (Gesel, 1940). They have to be "mature" enough or "ready." More recent information (Ferriero & Teborosky, 1982; Goodman, 1986; Harste, Burke, & Woodward, 1984; Mason, 1984; Teale & Sulzby, 1986) indicates that while development may play a role, experience is a powerful factor in children's success in beginning reading.

Even very young children engage in reading and writing behaviors (Clay, 1975; Harste, Burke, & Woodward, 1984; Newman, 1985). From experience with print in their environments they seem to learn literacy in a very natural way, first recognizing simple symbols, such as the MacDonald's sign or their favorite box of cereal. At the same time, they "pretend" to read familiar stories, thus getting an idea of the way written language sounds when read aloud. Clay (1979) states that "talking like a book" is an important stage in emergent literacy.

Children with wide literacy experiences prior to school entry have a better chance of coping with the formal reading curriculum. Children who, for whatever reason, have not had concentrated literacy experiences may be confused by the presentation of such foreign concepts as "word," "letter," or "vowel;" and they may not make the connections to their own knowledge of oral language. This does not mean that the children are "immature"; waiting longer will not help. Nor does it mean that anything is wrong with them. But they may need a more intensive experience to untangle the confusions and help them learn what reading is all about.

We can no longer afford to wait to see whether children will "grow into reading" or catch on later in school. We must "catch them up" early so that they can profit from instruction. But, our current efforts, including retention, really mean we as educators are failing. And the remediation that comes on top of failure, provides some help but not acceleration. Adult programs attempt to correct the problem in later years but do not make changes where it might be more productive—in the initial stages of learning to read.

Research in New Zealand (Clay, 1982; 1985) indicates that children who have difficulty may not be reading in the same way as the high progress readers. They have a narrow range of strategies; they tend to be rigid and tend to be inflexible in their approaches. Other research (Board, 1985) indicates that these poor readers may be "vulnerable" to instruction in that they do **only** what instruction suggests, for example, looking at letters, rather than incorporating the approaches into a broad background of literacy knowledge and experience. Clay (1985) suggests that children learn and then habituate poor strategies, which makes remediation quite difficult in the later school years.

There is an approach that has proven successful in helping at-risk first graders make accelerated progress in learning to read. The Reading Recovery program, first developed in New Zealand by educator and psychologist Marie M. Clay, was the product of 10 years of research both on good readers and poor readers. Proven success in New Zealand led to its adoption as a national program. The great majority of the children served by Reading Recovery made accelerated progress and caught up with their peers within 12-14 weeks of service. Then, the program was "discontinued" and children continued to make progress at average rates without special help.

Reading Recovery was piloted in Columbus, Ohio, with a group of low income first grade children who were in the lowest achievement groups in first grade classrooms. The program was subsequently made a state program. Results of four years of evaluation studies indicate that over two thirds of the children served by the program reach average levels of reading ability for their schools after 60 to 70 lessons in Reading Recovery. Children who are successfully "discontinued" continue to make progress at average levels without special help. A controlled study indicates that Reading Recovery children were significantly higher in achievement than an initially equivalent comparison group. Three years later, the experimental group had retained its gains.

Research on the program indicates that it has both immediate and long-term effects on children. Qualitative analysis of records of children's reading indicate that Reading Recovery instruction helps children develop the kinds of effective strategies that good readers use. The goal of Reading Recovery is to help children develop the kinds of systems that will enable them to be independent readers whose reading continues to improve as they gain experience. That isn't necessarily true of poor readers; every time they read, they may be using poor strategies or a limited range of strategies.

Reading Recovery is based on the assumption that early, intensive, individual, and high quality help has the greatest potential for lasting impact and for reducing the need for compensatory service. The program goal is to get children out of the remedial track by providing early, temporary help that will enable children to continue learning on their own, even as Clay says, with a "not noticing" teacher.

Reading Recovery was designed for children like Billy, and it works for them. How does it work? A central proposition of the program is to build on the child's strengths. The list of statements made at the beginning of this article would never be heard in a meeting of Reading Recovery teachers. Instead, the teacher would carefully and in great detail assess the child's strengths and would then design an individual program to make the most of them.

Reading Recovery is a 30 minute, daily, one-to-one intervention program for first grade children. The poorest readers are selected; no other criterion is applied. In these daily lessons children read many books and write and read messages. The program utilizes books, pencils and paper rather than "step-by-step" kits or sets of graded reading materials. The key to children's progress is intensive work with a teacher who is specially trained to help these failing readers develop the kinds of strategies good readers use. Reading Recovery provides intensive **temporary** help designed to help these failing readers make accelerated progress so that they can catch up with the rest of their age group and thus be able to profit from the instruction taking place in the classroom. (For further descriptions of the program, see Clay, 1985; Pinnell, 1986; Pinnell, 1987; Pinnell, 1988).

The effectiveness of the program can be attributed to a teacher education model that seeks to make teachers informed decision makers who are professionals in charge of the educational program of the children they teach. They rely on their own knowledge, not a set of packaged materials with written directions. As the Carnegie Report (1986) urged, "we must invest teachers with a much greater degree of trust and responsibility to render professional judgments about the most appropriate educational treatments."

In the year-long in-service course, teachers learn to become decision-makers through their intense work with children. Each teacher in training works with four children daily for 30 minute lessons, carrying out other duties during the rest of the school day. Once each week, teachers meet for a 2½ hour training session taught by a trained teacher leader. The course makes extensive use of a one-way class for observation on lessons. A teacher works with a child behind the glass while colleagues observe from the other side. A sound system lets the observers hear what is going on. As they watch, they talk among themselves about what they are seeing in the way of reading and writing behaviors and teacher decision making. Following the lessons, the discussion groups summarize their observations and an exchange of information ensues. In this way, teachers are led to be careful observers of children's reading and writing and they learn to build a coherent rationale for the decisions they make.

The inservice course and procedures of the program have a powerful impact on teachers: they view at-risk children as competent and able to learn to read. Nothing is more important in multicultural education than the belief that all children can learn. This is accomplished by placing teachers in a one to one situation with children and guiding them to observe the child's behavior in great detail. Some principles of the program provide the keys to its success. These principles will be examined and explained below. They also serve as recommendations for creating other programs for at-risk children.

Know What the Child Knows

The program begins with a comprehensive diagnosis of the child's strengths through six diagnostic instruments, each designed to assess a different aspect of literacy learning. This diagnostic assessment will uncover confusions but most importantly, it assesses the strength that will be used to overcome those confusions.

After administering the tests, the teacher creates a diagnostic summary that is used as a starting point for the instruction. In writing the diagnostic summary, the teacher must be extremely specific about the evidence in terms of what a child knows and can do in reading or writing. Classroom teachers' opinions, home background, general behavior problems, etc. are not considered relevant. The evidence must be in terms of what the child **can do** in reading and writing tasks. Carole, Billy's Reading Recovery teacher, provided this statement about Billy:

> Billy can write his name and knows the names of the letters in his first and last name. He can hear the sound of "s," and "b," as indicated in the dictation task. He can predict the text of a story from his own sense of meaning and language. While he does not usually attend to print, some of his attempts at words were visually similar to the correct word, indicating that he can use visual information. He is willing to risk guessing at words. He knows that the print carries the messages and he has control of left to right directionality in reading. He can match word by word on a very easy, one-line text. He needs to achieve full control of the early strategies and to maintain his strong sense of meaning and language while attending more to the print and building a sense of the structure of written language. Writing will be a very valuable activity for him.

It is important that the teacher have that kind of detailed knowledge about what the child can do because the next two weeks are based on helping the child to use his/her knowledge in various ways. These assessments are individually administered and are designed to provide a thorough inventory of the child's knowledge as well as identifying the confusions. They are a contrast to current forms of assessment (Johnston, 1984) that seem to concentrate on deficits as well as with standardized tests which, although they provide the district with data, offer little help to teachers in making instructional decisions. When teachers first use the Diagnostic Survey, they are often surprised at what these failing children **do** know. But, the formal assessment is only the beginning of the teacher's quest for knowledge about the children to be taught. The first two weeks of the child's participation in Reading Recovery is called "Roaming Around the Known."

Explore the full range (or "scope") of the child's knowledge

Roaming Around the Known is a time to help children become aware of their own strengths and to build fluency and flexibility in the process. During the first ten lessons, the teacher is not allowed to "teach" anything but must explore through as many ways as possible everything that the child knows about reading and writing. Roaming Around the Known is extremely important and must not be skipped or modified. During that time, the teacher becomes acutely aware of what the child can do because she must explore it and exploit it. With the teacher's support, the child can work at the outer limits of what he knows and some surprises happen.

In this highly supportive situation, children who previously have been passive and seemingly "unmotivated" begin to again offer some of the responses that they have withdrawn because they seemed unsuccessful or unwelcome. They offer attempts at words; they search for meaning. Here is one teacher's comment on the "Roaming Around the Known" period.

> This roaming is really hard. I have to hold myself back. I really have to struggle to find as many ways as I can to let her use what she knows. At first I thought it might be a waste of time but Kenyana has so much more confidence now. I notice that she's starting to make attempts at words instead of just shrugging her shoulders. She told her mother she could read books now and I've found that she knew how to write more letters than I thought at first.

During roaming, the child builds fluency and flexibility on what she/he knows, even if that is very little. In the process, the children gain confidence and begin to change their views of themselves as readers and writers. In a very short time, these failing children stop saying "I can't read" and begin talking about the books they have read. Children read many "little" books. These are very easy and have repetitive or patterned texts. After a few readings, they can easily take them on and behave like readers.

As children move into more formal lessons, teachers still support children but provide only as much support as is needed to help them extend their reach. Teachers never do for children what they can do themselves; but they carefully select books that will provide just the right amount of challenge without causing frustration. During reading and writing, teachers interact with children in a way that helps and encourages them to self-monitor and search for and use information while reading. The teacher expects the child to be the problem-solver and she creates the situation that allows them to do so. Thus, the teacher provides a "scaffold" for the child's learning (Cazden, 1983) and provides the opportunity for the child to work within that "zone of proximal development," near the outer limits of one's own knowledge, that seems most powerful for extending learning (Vygotsky, 1978).

Provide massive opportunities for children to read and write

Readers learn to read by reading and writers learn to write by writing. That seems an obvious and simplistic statement, but not when applied to the reading instruction of at-risk children. Research (Allington, 1977, 1980) indicates that actually, low progress children may be getting far less opportunity to read and write than do the higher achievers. The middle and top reading groups spend more time reading extended text while the low group children spend a great deal of time filling in the blanks in worksheets. Our own observations, supported by others (Gambrell, 1986) indicate that the great majority of children in urban schools spend too much time on worksheets and too little time on reading stories. A recent report claims that there is no evidence that large amounts of time spent on fill-in-the-blank seatwork results in higher reading achievement (Anderson, *et. al.*, 1985) and urges educators to let children read more.

During Reading Recovery lessons, children spend almost every second in reading and writing messages and stories. They read five to ten books each day and compose and write a message which is then read several times. Teachers work to develop strategies **while** children are actually engaged in real reading and writing.

Notice and support significant progress

Teachers analyze children's reading and writing behavior daily, and this analysis helps them to recognize progress even in very small increments.

Reading Recovery teachers look for signs that the child is developing the kinds of strategies that are needed for effective reading.

When Henry began the program in Reading Recovery, he was reading on "level 1." He enjoyed stories and could predict from meaning and language structure, but he was not monitoring his reading by attending to the print. In addition, he did not have full control of words by word matching. In his sixth Reading Recovery lesson, he produced this reading of a simple "little" book, *Fun with Mo and Toots.*

Figure 1

HENRY'S READING OF *FUN WITH MO AND TOOTS*, LEVEL 3.

Text of book:	Child's reading:
I like to dress up.	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
I like to draw monsters.	✓ ✓ ✓ R ✓ ✓ ✓

✓ = accurate reading R = repeat

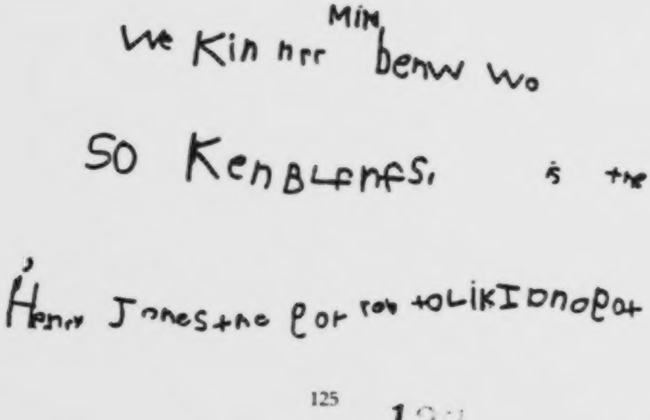
This system of checks represents the kind of shorthand used in taking a running record of reading behavior. The running record enables the teacher to keep an objective check on reading development and to trace even small indications of progress.

When Henry hesitated, looked at the picture and then started over, the teacher had evidence that this child was thinking about his reading. He was searching for meaning in the pictures and in the print. His starting over to get another "running start" seemed to indicate an awareness of how the language fit together. This was evidence that Henry was beginning to monitor his own reading.

During assessment for the program, Henry produced this writing in response to the writing vocabulary test.

Figure 2

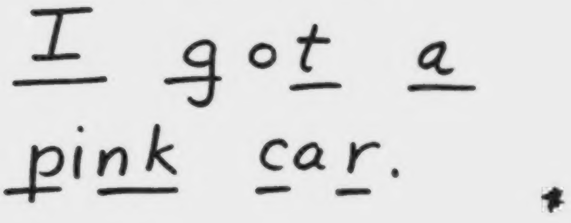
HENRY'S WRITING VOCABULARY ASSESSMENT


We Kin nrr Mim benw wo
SO KenBLfnfSi is the
Henry Jonesthe Eor ror toLikIDnoEat

During the first lessons, with the teacher's help, he produced this example.

Figure 3

HENRY'S WRITING, LESSON 6

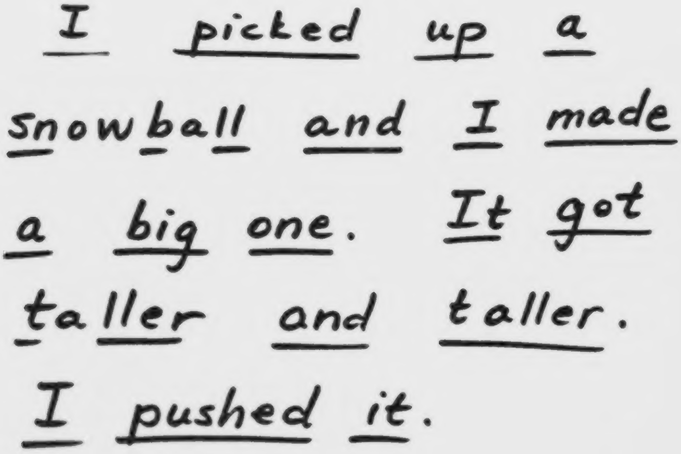


I got a
pink car. *

His writing indicated that he was able to hear initial and final consonants and he independently wrote the words "I" and "a." By his thirtieth lesson he was writing much more text; he knew many words and he could construct others by making a sound analysis. He could add endings such as "ed" and "er."

Figure 4

HENRY'S WRITING, LESSON 30



I picked up a
snowball and I made
a big one. It got
taller and taller.
I pushed it.

By this time in Henry's program, the teacher could see more progress. He was self-monitoring and self-correcting his own reading. He was beginning to use multiple cueing systems and was behaving in a much more independent way. He continued to make progress until he was released after 80 lessons.

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* Underlined letters are those the child was able to generate independently.

He could read complex texts such as *Where the Wild Things Are* (Sendak, 1963); and in a final testing by an outside tester, he could read the end of the primer. His final writing was brief but contained an important message.

Figure 5

HENRY'S FINAL WRITING*

When I grow up I want to
be a principal.

*Written completely independently.

What about Billy? Here is a reading from one of his first lessons.

Figure 6

BILLY'S READING OF *I CAN PLAY,* LEVEL 2.

Text:	Child's reading:
I can play	✓ ✓ ✓
with the puppy.	✓ ✓ $\frac{\text{dog / SC}}{\text{puppy}}$

✓ = accurate reading
$\frac{\text{dog}}{\text{puppy}}$ = substitution
SC = self correction

He was relying mainly on his memory of this very simple, patterned text, but his self-correction shows that he was beginning to monitor his reading and to cross check his meaningful predictions with visual information in the print. A little later, he produced this reading.

Figure 7

BILLY'S READING OF *SILLY OLD POSSUM*, LEVEL 3.

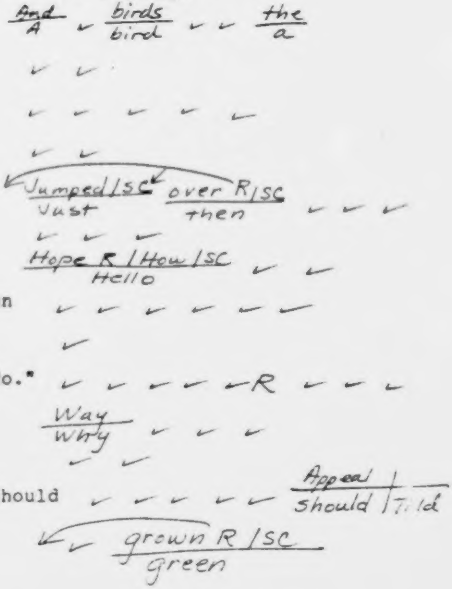
Text:	Child's reading:
Possum down the chimney.	✓ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{down}}$ ✓ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{chimney}}$
Silly old possum.	✓ ✓ ✓
Possum on the chair.	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
Silly old possum.	✓ ✓ ✓
Possum on the table.	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
Silly old possum.	✓ ✓ ✓
Possum up the curtain.	✓ ✓ ✓ $\frac{\text{come} \quad \text{"No"}}{\text{curtain} \; \vert \; \text{T told}}$
Silly old possum.	✓ ✓ ✓

$\frac{\cdot}{\text{down}}$ = omission ✓ = accurate reading

In early February, when Carole thought Billy was ready to be released from the program, an outside tester ascertained that he could read at the 1.2 level in the basal reading series and that he showed evidence of an independent system of strategies for reading. The following example of reading was provided at the February testing.

Figure 8

BILLY'S READING OF *THE BLUE FOREST.*



Text:	Child's reading:
A blue bird sang in a	$\frac{\text{And}}{\text{A}}$ ✓ $\frac{\text{birds}}{\text{bird}}$ ✓ ✓ $\frac{\text{the}}{\text{a}}$
blue tree.	✓ ✓
Blue foxes ran after a	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
blue rabbit.	✓ ✓
Just then Elena saw some	$\frac{\text{Jumped/SC}}{\text{Just}}$ $\frac{\text{over R/SC}}{\text{then}}$ ✓ ✓ ✓
little blue people.	✓ ✓ ✓
"Hello," said Elena.	$\frac{\text{Hope R/How/SC}}{\text{Hello}}$ ✓ ✓
"Go away!" a little blue man	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
said.	✓
"We have a lot of work to do."	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ R ✓ ✓ ✓
"Why is everything blue?"	$\frac{\text{Way}}{\text{Why}}$ ✓ ✓ ✓
asked Elena.	✓ ✓
"The grass and the leaves should	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ $\frac{\text{Appeal}}{\text{should}}$ $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{Told}}$
be green."	✓ $\frac{\text{grown R/SC}}{\text{green}}$

The test of whether a child is truly using strategies effectively is his or her continued progress without extra help. Good readers have what Clay (1985) calls "self generating" systems. That is, every time they read, they use strategies to become better readers. Billy was released from the program in February and continued to do well through first grade with no extra help. During second grade, he received no remedial reading and was able to make average progress with his age group. At the end of second grade, Billy's reading was again assessed.

Figure 9

BILLY'S READING OF *KUMI AND THE PEARL.*

Text:	Child's reading:
Now and then, a face	✓ R ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
pushed up through the	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
water. An arm emptied	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
a net full of oysters	$\frac{\text{the}}{\text{a}}$ ✓ $\frac{\text{fuel}}{\text{full}}$ ✓ $\frac{\text{octopussy/occapus}}{\text{oysters}}$
into a tub.	$\frac{\text{until/to}}{\text{into}}$ ✓ ✓
At times a hand tucked	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ $\frac{\text{tuck/SC}}{\text{tucked}}$
in a strand of hair.	✓ ✓ $\frac{\text{st-/SC}}{\text{strand}}$ $\frac{\text{her/SC}}{\text{of}}$ ✓ R
The hair was pulled	✓ ✓ ✓ $\frac{\text{put}}{\text{pulled}}$
back into a knot at	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
the back of the neck.	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
It was the beautiful	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
knot of shining hair	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
worn by the diving	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
girls.	✓
Thoughtfully, Kumi	$\frac{\text{Thoughtful/SC}}{\text{Thoughtfully}}$ ✓
touched her own long	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
hair.	✓

He was reading easily (over 90% accuracy) a text at the 3.1 level, and his behavior indicated that he could use independent reading strategies. Billy had become an independent reader who could profit from classroom instruction. The goal of Reading Recovery is not just to help at-risk children; it is to help them make **accelerated progress,** to catch up with their peers and to enable them to keep on learning on their own.

Make instructional decisions based on evidence

In the Reading Recovery in-service course, teachers learn to make their instructional decisions on evidence of the child's knowledge and skill in reading and writing; no other information is relevant. Observation is very important; while working with the child, the teacher must be able to notice and respond to behavior that indicates progress. Teachers praise children massively, but very specifically, so that they help them become more aware of the good things they are doing to help themselves in reading. For example, in Billy's case, the teacher was trying to get him to notice visual information. After the reading of *I Can Play,* she might have commented, "It could have been 'dog.' That was really a good try. But you were really checking the words, weren't you?" For another child, the comment would have been different. Aware teachers try to tailor even their minute-to-minute interactions with children because they know what a powerful influence they have.

A rule of the in-service course is that the child's home background is not to be discussed. That information is considered irrelevant; instead, we are interested in observing what he can do when engaged in reading and writing. This segment from a "talking behind the glass" session, illustrates the kinds of conversations that occur.

> Nancy: Make sure we're watching to see what strategies she might be using.
>
> Becky: Monitoring self-correction. .
>
> Nancy: What was her self-correction?
>
> Becky: "me too," She started to say 'we are," and then she changed it to "me too." So, she was monitoring. She was aware of an error.
>
> Joyce: There's enough information in the picture. She's cross checking meaning with visual information.
>
> Becky: And, she's using a little more expression and a little more pausing. . . .

The teachers in that session were learning to be specific about children's behavior. Reading is a strategic "in-the-head" process; while we cannot directly observe the complex strategies going on in the reader's head, we can use careful observations to make some good guesses about them. Since we want to foster strategies, we need to become "noticing" teachers.

Be sensitive to the concerns and points of view of parents and other family members

Holland's (1987) extensive interviews of parents of Reading Recovery children revealed urban parents' caring about their children's progress and their sense of frustration and isolation from the school. This was most evident in the reception of the first report card, on which most Reading Recovery children got very low grades.

> B--- had an interim report that he was failing in two items and everything else was pass/satisfactory. I think it was about two and one-half weeks later everything was "F," straight "U's" on the other side. So he [the father] flew off the hammer and wrote to her [the classroom teacher]. And he wrote her a real good letter. B--- got in trouble right before that and they called here and we had to pay for something. He got a paddling for whatever it was. And this is what upset me—go call for a menial thing. It must have been nothing. She said it was a menial thing. But they won't call to say your son is failing. She will call for something stupid but she won't call for something that really matters.

Since many at-risk children are behavior problems in addition to or perhaps because of their lack of success in reading, parents tend to have many negative interactions with the school. Another quote from Holland's study illustrates this point:

> Mrs. C. received a phone call early in the year where the teacher, Mrs. M. told her that her son has got a problem and is a problem child. The conversation was all negative. The teacher asked for suggestions and Mrs. C. suggested that the teacher be more personal with James. But the teacher said she couldn't do that

> with so many children in the class. Mrs. M. told her that she had already given up two breaks and wasn't willing to give up any more for James. The teacher asked for James' kindergarten teacher's name. She was going to call her to check about James in kindergarten. Mrs. C. never heard back about this teacher conference concerning James. Mrs. M was ready to give up at this point, and it was only the first full week of school.

Reading Recovery teachers consider home background or economic level irrelevant when deciding on a child's competence or reading ability; but that does not mean ignoring the family and home. Children bring their homes and families into the Reading Recovery lesson every day as they engage in conversation with the teacher and produce their writing, which often is about an important home event.

Reading Recovery teachers' communication with children's homes is especially important since children must attend school regularly. A one-to-one program cannot offer accelerated progress unless children attend school. As the "little" books become familiar reading for the child, they are sent home daily and thus the child has a book he or she can easily read independently. These little books have a great influence on the home literacy environment. Children read them to their pets, their parents, their grandparents, aunts and uncles, their dolls and stuffed animals, and **to their little brothers and sisters.** They are not dependent on busy or tired adults to do all the reading; they can do it independently. And, there is a new selection every day. Parents express pride in being able to watch their child's growing ability to actually read books, a contrast to the previous struggle with worksheets (Holland, 1987).

Reading Recovery teachers invite parents to observe the child in a lesson; or, when transportation or work schedules make that impossible, they may visit the home and do a lesson there. If the child is absent, the teacher immediately calls. Because teachers can talk in concrete detail about what the child can do, parents are helped to see the child's competence and to notice progress. Here is one mother's decription of her visit.

> And the teacher [Reading Recovery teacher] seemed real excited about it, you know. And he read and did the little card and cut it up. But him bringing the books home and reading to me, you know, it was more or less like the same. The one thing I liked about it was the way they taught them how to read certain words, how to use them—bold like, you know. She talked along the way. She showed me how she keeps track, like when he reads a word how she'll mark on her paper that he did it. And then she explained like the way some words are repeated throughout the story. She said he was really doing good.

Parents are sensitive to the relationship between teachers and their children. Here, a mother talks about her views of the two teachers her child was experiencing.

> I [mother] let her [the Reading Recovery teacher] talk a long time and tried to have feedback. Then I did mine and she was willing to listen to me as a parent. I just had good positive things. Therefore, when Sean was there with her, I got positive between them two. There was a positive charge between them two. Sean looked at her when she talked. He did not put his head down. He wasn't ashamed because she confirmed Sean is trying . . . where withe Mrs. —— [first grade classroom teacher] he did not look at her. I watched him. He did not look at her. He backed off [that] person.

Reading Recovery teachers attempt to establish a relationship with parents that will facilitate the whole process of helping that child learn to read. Since they recognize children's strengths and are applying intensive effort to help them, parents usually respond in kind. Reports from the Reading Recovery project indicate overwhelmingly positive responses from parents (Pinnell, *et. al.*, 1987; Lyons, *et. al.*, 1987).

Conclusion

This reading program confirms the value of recognizing children's strengths and the competence they bring to the school situation. Only as "noticing" educators can we help at-risk children move into the mainstream of achievement. By knowing what children can do, we know how to help them learn more, thus reducing the risks and creating "winners" for our multicultural society.

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EFFECTS OF HOME, SCHOOL AND ACADEMIC TRACKS: A REANALYSIS OF THE IEA DATE

Sanza B. Clark

Introduction

Whenever the issue of ability grouping or differentiated curriculum is being discussed, conflict is almost certain to follow. Very few educational issues can generate and sustain as much controversy as this one (Davis, 1949; Yates, 1966; Rosenbaum, 1976; Wilson & Schmits, 1978; Oakes, 1985; Dawson, 1987). Despite the lack of conclusive evidence that homogeneous grouping of students by ability increases the achievement of the individual student (Slavin, 1987), it is estimated that some form of ability grouping exists in 77 percent of all American schools and some as early as the first grade (Dawson, 1987). In fact there is strong evidence to indicate that ability grouping may serve more to hinder student growth than to enhance it (Hobson v. Hansen, 1967; Karier, 1972; Oakes, 1985; Dawson, 1987). If homogeneous groupings do not necessarily improve achievement, then why are they so prevalent in America and other industrialized nations?

This study is concerned with the possible correlation between ability grouping and socio-economic status (SES). In addition to the lack of interaction across groups, much of the argument against ability grouping has to do with the selection process and that this process may be biased against the low SES student (Davis, 1949; Oakes, 1985). Are lower class students disproportionately found in the lower ability groups or tracks? Because the different tracks perform differently on achievement tests (Evans & Galloway, 1973) and because SES is a strong predictor of academic achievement (Kifer, 1976; Hauser, Sewell, & Alvin, 1976), it is extremely important to derive the relationship between SES and tracking. In other words, do the classes tend to be found in different tracks that lead to the strong effect of SES on achievement or is cultural or environmental deprivation found in the different classes? Much of what in the past has been viewed as the influence of the home environment may actually be the influence of the schools' tracking policy. This study seeks to answer this question on an international level by reanalyzing the data on reading achievement collected under the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

By using data collectedby the IEA, this study is limited to the questions asked in the original six-subject questionnaires. The IEA data covered a commendable number of topics, and thus lends itself to a multitude of studies. However, the decision by the IEA to use the school as the unit of analysis for the school variables does impose some limitation on the type of analysis to which the data will lend itself. Of present concern is the scarcity of classroom process variables. For example, the data enables us to question whether the correcting of a child's grammar by his/her parents at home relates to his/her reading achievement at school, but we can not assess the equivalent behavior of his/her teachers. Many of the school variables were aggregated to the level of the school; it is thus impossible to know the educational level of the teachers of a particular student. Such aggregations of school variables prevents a researcher from assessing much of the effects of the teachers.

In spirit of the above limitations, much can still be gained by carefully selecting comparable home and school variables and measuring their influence on student reading achievement. Relevant questions concerning the relationship between tracking and SES and the relative influence of the home and school can still be addressed. It is to that end that this study has been undertaken.

SES and Student Achievement

Since the mid 1960s the ability of schools to influence student academic achievement has been seriously questioned. Studies like the Coleman Report (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld, & York, 1966) in the United States and the Plowden Study (Central Advisory Council of Education, 1967) in England have strongly suggested that the influence of home environment is far stronger than that of the school. For home environment they have measured socio-economic status and process variables such as parental income and educational levels as well as whether or not the parents regularly read to the child. For school variables they measured such things as teacher qualifications, size of class and per pupil expenditures. Findings based on these studies conclude by saying that, "Variation among students in school achievement is more a result of differences in home background than differences among schools" (Kifer, 1976, p. 4).

The pressing issue which triggered these and other studies was whether schools could produce equality among students with regard to academic performance. What these studies show, as Jencks, Smith, Acland, Bane, Cohen, Gintis, Heyns, & Michelson (1972) point out, is that:

> There is no evidence that school reform can substantially reduce the extent of cognitive inequality, as measured by tests of verbal fluency, reading comprehension, or mathematical skill. Neither school resources nor segregation has an appreciable effect on either test scores or educational attainment. (p. 8)

Edmonds (1979) vehemently rejects the notion that basic pupil performance is derived from family background rather the schools' response to family background.

IEA Findings

Using the IEA data on reading comprehension, Thorndike (1973) found that home and family backgrounds do a better job of predicting reading achievement than do school variables. He goes on to say: "Training of teachers in the teaching of reading, size of class, and availability of specialized teachers in the school have no relationship to reading achievement" (p. 119). Looking at literature scores, Purves reaches similar conclusions:

> One may fairly conclude, then, that the ability to comprehend and interpret literary texts is a subset of reading ability and that it is less the result of any

> particular curricular effort of the school than it is the result of a favorable home and school environment. (1973, p.34)

When looking at the IEA reading data on England and New Zealand, Clifton (1978) reaches similar but slightly different conclusions. Operating from a position that states that often the objectives of schools are influenced by the social structure of the society, Clifton selects England and New Zealand because he believes their social structure is different, but that the school structure is similar in the two countries. He found that when verbal ability and sex are controlled for, students from the top socio-economic status group score substantially higher than students from the bottom socio-economic group. These findings were true in both countries, but the effects of SES were substantially greater for students in England than for students in New Zealand. Clifton suggests that this difference in the influence of SES on student reading achievement in the two countries may be related to whether a country is willing or able to reduce the effects of socio-economic status on student academic performance, ". . . in some countries the school system may be used as a mechanism to maintain class structure while in other countries it may be used as a mechanism to break down class structure" (1978, p. 143).

If one accepts McLaren's description of New Zealand as an egalitarian society, then this would help to explain why SES is a weaker predictor of student academic achievement in New Zealand than it is in England:

> Both in urban and in rural areas a marked characteristic of New Zealand society has been and is its strongly egalitarian nature. Since the 1890s a common purpose has been to absorb all classes into a doctrineless middle class . . . Education accordingly has emphasized the production of a higher average at the expense of the exceptional. Class distinctions, while undoubtedly existing, are much less ridigly defined than in the United Kingdom. (McLaren, 1974, p.3)

It seems then that the role the schools have been designed to play in a particular society may have a great deal to do with how influential the schools are vis-à-vis SES in student achievement scores. Averch, Carroll, Donaldson, Kiesling na Pincus (1971) concur with this statement and suggest that merely increasing expenditures for traditional educational practices will not improve student performance. What is needed are sweeping changes in the way the schools are organized, structured and conducted.

Discussion

Regardless of their differences these studies consistently argue that SES is by far the single most important predictor of academic achievement. This is not only true for the United States, but seems to hold true for other industrialized nations as well. The question now seems to be not if SES is a strong factor in student achievement but why. Herrnstein (1971) seems to imply that the academic inqualities observed among students are related to the social class of the student and may indeed be due to hereditary differences in ability between the classes.

If one rejects the proposition put forth by Herrnstein that the disparities in academic attainment between students of different classes are due to some inherited differences in abilities, than one needs to ask how is it that the schools can so effectively reproduce the socio-economic structure of a society? Does the real problem lie in the larger political economy, and are schools actually helpless in effecting any meaningful change? Are there structural barriers within the schools themselves that have an impact on the schools' ability to affect change in the academic performance of their students? The truth is probably a combination of the two.

There is reason, however, to suspect tracking or differentiated curricula may be contributing to the inabilities of schools to produce equality of academic results. In fact, Jencks, *et al* (1972) states that the track or curriculum to which a student is assigned, is the one measurable school factor that influences student academic achievement. Rather than focusing on categorizing students and then treating them differently, the emphasis should be on equity. Many educators believe that the schools are now capable of successfully teaching all children. That they have not done so has more to do with desire than ability (Edmonds, 1979; Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schweitzer, & Wisenbaker, 1979).

Reanalysis of IEA Data

For this study only the reading achievement data for fourteen year olds in England was used. This was implemented because the common language and the reliability coefficient for the reading test for this sample was the highest of all the countries (.89). Our sample consisted of 1452 students in their ninth year of schooling.

Variables

Independent variables used in the analysis in this study can be grouped into three general categories:

1. Student Background - gender, father's educational level and mother's educational level;
2. School Personnel - teacher's years of teaching, teacher's years of post-secondary education, hours per week teaching reading, principal's experience, and principal's highest degree;
3. School Characteristics - reading class hours per week, reading class size, school program type, type of program enrolled [general, vocational, or academic].

The dependent variable used in this study is the total reading comprehension score adjusted for guessing that was used in the IEA six-subject studies (Thorndike, 1973).

Statistical Procedures

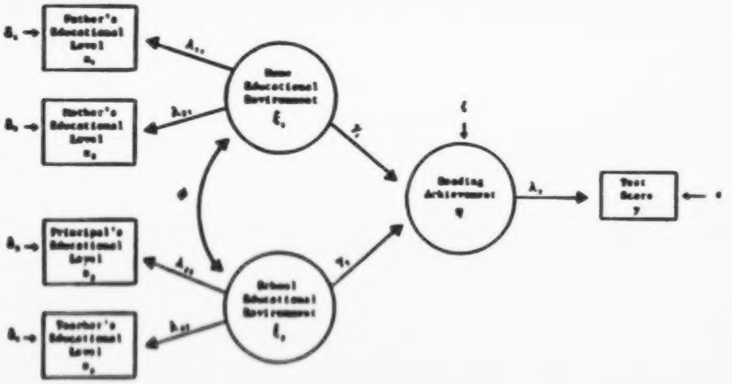
The two hypotheses to be tested by this study are as follows.

1. There is a correlation between type of curriculum/track/school and the parental educational level of the student.
2. Within tracks, the educational level of school educators is a better predictor of student reading achievement than is the educational level of the parents.

For the first hypothesis Pearson product-moment correlations were computed. The variance-covariance matrices were then obtained and used as input data for the analysis of the LISREL VI (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1984) covariance structural model shown in Figure 1 to test the second hypothesis.

Figure 1

LISREL ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE STRUCTURE MODEL


δ_1
Father's Educational Level x_1
δ_2
Mother's Educational Level x_2
δ_3
Principal's Educational Level x_3
δ_4
Teacher's Educational Level x_4
λ_{11}
λ_{21}
λ_{32}
λ_{42}
Home Educational Environment ξ_1
ϕ
School Educational Environment ξ_2
γ_1
γ_2
ζ
Reading Achievement η
λ_1
Test Score y
ϵ

This model hypothesizes a specific pattern of relationships among a set of measured and latent variables. Measured variables are educational levels of the father, mother, principal, and the teacher. The other measured variable is the test score. These variables are depicted by rectangles. The latent variables or hypothesized constructs for this model are home educational environment, school educational environment, and reading achievement. These constructs are depicted by circles. Arrows between the latent variables indicate directional relationships and lines with arrows pointing in two directions indicate nondirectional relationships.

In our model depicted in Figure 1, there are four observed exogenous variables (x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4), one observed endogenous variable (y), two latent exogenous variables (ξ_1, ξ_2) and one latent endogenous variable (η).

Father's and mother's educational level are indicators of the construct labelled parental educational level; and principal's and teacher's educational levels are indicators of the construct, school educational level. The construct reading achievement has only one indicator—the test score. Note in this model that the two exogenous constructs are said to be related (depicted by the double arrow line), but the relationship is not unidirectional. This differs from the models used in the IEA studies where school environment variables were said to be influenced by the home environment variables but not the reverse (Postlethewaite, 1967; Comber & Keeves, 1973; Purves, 1973).

While it is true that home environment variables occur earlier in a time frame than do school environment variables, their relationship may also be considered bidirectional in cases where, for instance, parents take into consideration available schools when purchasing a home. The relationship may also be due to the relationship of both variables to a third variable not included in the model. That the home and school environment variables may be related to a third nondefined variable is highly possible, but it lies outside the scope of this study and cannot be verified by the IEA data.

The IEA study included several process variables for the home environment, such as, whether parents read to their children, correct their speech or assist with their school assignments. While these variables most certainly enhance the home environment component, their counterparts are noticeably absent from the school environment component. In other words, the learning processes for individual students can not be derived from the IEA data. The data was collected using the school as the unit of measurement. Hence, it is impossible to know either the characteristics of the teachers of each student or the actual type of learning processes occurring in the classrooms. In addition to these concerns, the issue raised by Postlethwaite (1982) regarding the combination of previous and current schooling to obtain a more precise perception of the influence of the school is also difficult to achieve. To compare the individualized home process variables to the aggregated school status variables presents the comparison of unequals and should result in a bias in favor of the home variables because the variance in the aggregated component would be reduced.

In a search for meaningful comparable items, this investigator has decided to focus on the educational level of both the parents and school educators. Not only are the items comparable, but since educational level can be used as a surrogate for their socio-economic status, this allows generalizations to the issue of class as did the IEA studies. Assuming the student is not new to the school, these variables would also address Postlethwaite's (1982) concern of including previous schooling influences in the model.

The decision to use an analysis of covariance structure model instead of the multiple repgresion model takes into consideration concerns raised by statisticians as to the appropirateness of multiple regression to measure the relative importance of home and school variables (Kerwin, Howard, Maxwell, & Borkowski, 1987; Pedhazur, 1982; Mayeske, Wisler, Beaton, Weinfeld, Chhen, Okada, Proshek, & Tabler, 1972).

Reanalysis Findings

Correlations. The strongest relationship ($\underline{r} = .42$) with student performance on the reading comprehension test is the type of program or curriculum in which the student is enrolled (Table 1). This is followed by teacher's educational level ($\underline{r} = .21$), teacher's teaching load ($\underline{r} = -.21$) and school diversity ($\underline{r} = .21$). Father's and mother's educational levels ($\underline{r} = .14$ and .17 respectively) were also significantly correlated with the test scores, but the relationships were not as strong as those between the teacher's or principal's educational level and the test scores. While both the educational levels of the parents and those of the educators have a significant relationship with student performance on the reading test ($p < .01$), the relationship of the educators is the greater. Another point worth noting is that those teachers with the heaviest teaching loads tend to have students who perform the poorest on the reading comprehension exam.

When taking a closer look at some key variables (PROG, PEDU, HOUR, FEDU, MEDU AND SIZE), one notices that with the exception of parental educational levels (FEDU and MEDU), most variables seem to have a nonlinear relationship with reading achievement (Figure 2).

Inter-Correlates. As expected, father's educational level is significantly correlated ($\underline{r} = .56$) with that of the mother. Some interesting correlations

Table 1

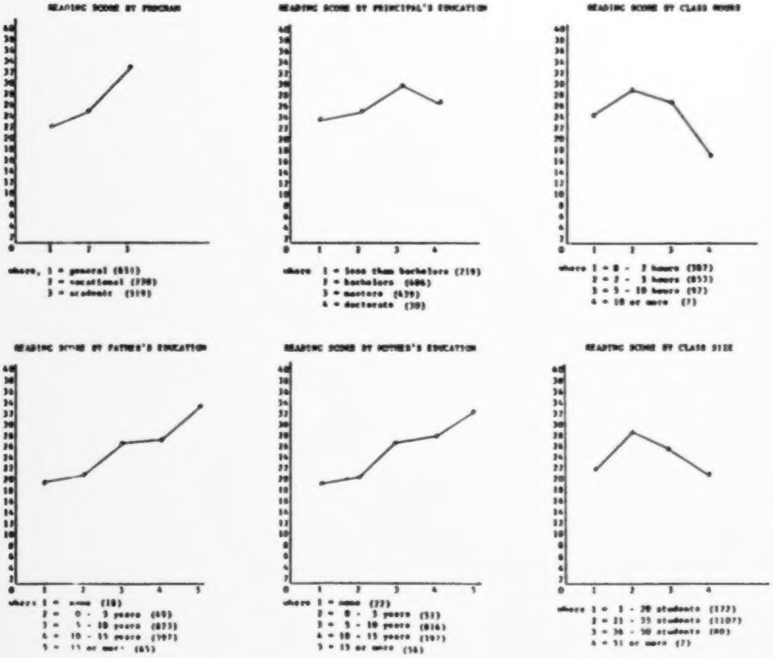
Correlation Matrix for Home and School Variables—Total Sample, N = 1242

	TEST	TYRS	TEDU	HOUR	PYRS	PEDU	LOAD	SIZE	PROG	FEDU	MEDU	DIVS	SEX
TEST	1.00												
YRS TEACHING	.06*	1.00											
ED TEACHER	.21**	-.29**	1.00										
CLASS HOURS	.12**	-.05*	.02	1.00									
YRS PRINCIPAL	.11**	.12**	.17**	.02	1.00								
ED PRINCIPAL	.19**	-.11**	.32**	-.02	.14**	1.00							
TEACHING LOAD	-.21**	.21**	-.64**	.06*	-.08**	-.24**	1.00						
CLASS SIZE	.08**	-.02	.06*	-.01	.04	.02	-.04	1.00					
PROGRAM	.42**	.00	.16**	.07	-.03	.16**	-.29**	-.01	1.00				
ED FATHER	.14**	.05*	.15**	.03	.01	.10**	-.06*	.04	.15**	1.00			
ED MOTHER	.17**	.01	.10*	.03	-.02	.08**	-.09**	.06*	.15**	.56**	1.00		
SCH DIVERSITY	.21**	.12**	.12**	-.01	-.10**	-.02	.01	.05*	.18**	.20**	.18**	1.00	
SEX	.07**	.12**	.10**	-.06*	-.14**	.03	-.01	.01	.14**	.10**	.08**	.15	1.00

*p < .05
**p < .01

Figure 2

READING SCORE BY PROG, PEDU, FEDU, MEDU, HOUR & SIZE—ENGLAND



worth special mentioning are the relationships with teaching load. More educated teachers tend to have lighter teaching loads, and more educated principals tend to assign lighter teaching loads to their teachers. Teachers with the heaviest loads tend also to have more inexperienced principals. There is also a significant relationship between father's and mother's educational levels and type of program; however, the correlation between the eudcational levels of the parents and type of school is even higher (Table 1). It would seem then that students in academic schools have significantly more educated teachers with lighter teaching loads and more educated and experienced principals.

Differences across Programs. The educational levels of the parents and educators continue to have significant correlations on student reading achievement except for those students in a vocational program. For these students it seems only years of teaching and school diversity have significant relationships with student performance on the test (Tables 2 to 5.)

Table 2

Correlation Matrix for Single Program Schools, N=275

	TEST	TYRS	TEDU	HOUR	PYRS	PEDU	LOAD	SIZE	FEDU	MEDU	TYPE	PROG	SEX
TEST	1.00												
YRS TEACHING	.07	1.00											
ED TEACHER	.41**	-.38**	1.00										
CLASS HOURS	.12*	-.06	.11*	1.00									
YRS PRINCIPAL	.21**	.30**	-.00	.01	1.00								
ED PRINCIPAL	.33**	.12*	.30**	-.03	.33**	1.00							
TEACHING LOAD	-.39**	.10	-.61**	-.11*	-.17**	-.29**	1.00						
CLASS SIZE	.09	-.09	.05	-.16**	.09	.11*	-.03	1.00					
ED FATHER	.21**	.08	.27**	.06	.11*	.30**	-.12*	-.08	1.00				
ED MOTHER	.17**	-.02	.33**	.08	.02	.29**	-.12*	.00	.67**	1.00			
TYPE	.63**	-.03	.72**	.10	.23**	.49**	-.60**	-.08	.32**	.29**	1.00		
PROGRAM	.47**	-.04	.37**	.10	.14**	.26**	-.31**	.02	.27**	.18**	-.54**	1.00	
SEX	.24**	-.11*	.25**	-.11*	-.18**	.17**	-.10*	-.06	.22**	.14**	.36**	.21**	1.00

*p<.05
**p<.01

Table 3

Correlation Matrix for the General Program, N=566

	TEST	TYRS	TEDU	HOUR	PYRS	PEDU	LOAD	SIZE	FEDU	MEDU	DIVS	SEX
TEST	1.00											
YRS TEACHING	.03	1.00										
ED TEACHER	.16**	-.30**	1.00									
CLASS HOURS	.14**	.01	.03	1.00								
YRS PRINCIPAL	.18**	.12**	.21**	.04	1.00							
ED PRINCIPAL	.16**	-.10**	.29**	-.07	.16**	1.00						
TEACHING LOAD	-.14**	.23**	-.43**	.07*	-.10**	-.28**	1.00					
CLASS SIZE	.09*	-.06	.13**	.02	.08*	-.03	-.09*	1.00				
ED FATHER	.08*	.07	.10**	.00	.02	.02	-.01	.10**	1.00			
ED MOTHER	.11**	.06	.07*	-.02	-.03	.03	-.04	.09*	.60**	1.00		
SCH DIVERSITY	.08*	.12**	-.09*	-.04	-.24**	-.09*	.14**	.01	.09*	.13**	1.00	
SEX	-.04	.12**	-.00	-.06	-.05	-.03	.05	.02	.01	.01	.09*	1.00

*p<.05
**p<.01

Table 4

Correlation Matrix for the Vocational Program, N = 191

	TEST	TYRS	TEDU	HOUR	PYRS	PEDU	LOAD	SIZE	FEDU	MEDU	DIVS	SEX
TEST	1.00											
YRS TEACHING	.16*	1.00										
ED TEACHER	-.12	-.61**	1.00									
CLASS HOURS	.10	-.07	.03	1.00								
YRS PRINCIPAL	.12	.24**	.10	-.00	1.00							
ED PRINCIPAL	.07	-.04	.29**	.03	.13*	1.00						
TEACHING LOAD	-.05	.29**	-.46**	.02	-.10	-.04	1.00					
CLASS SIZE	.02	-.00	-.04	.05	-.06	.12*	.02	1.00				
ED FATHER	-.05	-.14*	.10	.12*	.13*	-.02	-.08	-.10	1.00			
ED MOTHER	-.04	-.10	.05	.09	.10	-.01	.01	.03	.57**	1.00		
SCH DIVERSITY	.16*	.09	-.05	.10	-.18**	-.14*	-.06	.10	-.00	-.04	1.00	
SEX	-.04	.15*	.02	-.07	.04	.09	.06	.10	.09	.02	-.09	1.00

*p < .05
**p < .01

Table 5

Correlation Matrix for the Academic Program, N = 485

	TEST	TYRS	TEDU	HOUR	PYRS	PEDU	LOAD	SIZE	FEDU	MEDU	DIVS	SEX
TEST	1.00											
YRS TEACHING	.05	1.00										
ED TEACHER	.24**	-.22**	1.00									
CLASS HOURS	.04	-.13**	-.02	1.00								
YRS PRINCIPAL	.08*	.07	.15**	.03	1.00							
ED PRINCIPAL	.14**	-.07	.30**	.00	.13**	1.00						
TEACHING LOAD	-.17**	.18**	-.40**	.11**	-.06	-.22**	1.00					
CLASS SIZE	.14**	.05	.00	-.09*	.02	.06	.00	1.00				
ED FATHER	.17**	.12**	.17**	-.00	-.03	.12**	-.03	.01	1.00			
ED MOTHER	.18**	.00	.25**	.04	-.06	.11*	-.08*	.05	.50**	1.00		
SCH DIVERSITY	.19**	.11**	.29**	-.03	-.14**	-.01	-.02	.09*	.32**	.22**	1.00	
SEX	.09*	.10*	.16**	-.10*	-.32**	-.00	-.05	-.04	.16**	.12**	.20**	1.00

*p < .05
**p < .01

LISREL Results. The gammas representing the influence of home and school educational environments on reading achievement for the total sample were 1.35 and 3.69 respectively (Table 6). This coincides with the correlation findings. The overall goodness-of-fit index was .942 and yielded a Chi-square of 4.48 with 3 degrees of freedom. Since the GFI was high and the Chi-square was not significant, it can be assumed that the model is appropriate for the data. Further support for this is the equally low root mean square residuals (RMSR) ranging from .023 to .085 across groups.

In spite of these findings, it must be remembered that while the squared multiple correlation for the structural model is statistically significant, a value of .097 suggests that much of the variance associated with reading achievement is not accounted for by these variables.

Table 6

LISREL Maximum Likelihood Estimates for Home and School Influences

Group	N	Home[a]	School[a]	GFI[b]	RMSR[c]	χ^{d}
Total Sample	1316	1.35	3.69	.942	.045	4.48
General Program	614	.98	3.22	.966	.023	3.35
Academic Program	500	1.33	2.41	.943	.040	2.44
Single Program Schools	280	-3.74	9.85	.698	.085	3.41

[a] gammas for strength of influence
[b] Goodness of Fit Index
[c] root meas square residuals
[d] none of the chi-squares were significant at the .05 level.

Conclusions

Reinforcing what Evans and Galloway (1973) have said, this study has found that type of program or school has the strongest relationship to student performance on the reading comprehension test. This is particularly true when students are enrolled in specialized or single program schools. Segregating students into schools which are isolated by program enhances disparities between the schools.

These findings differ from the IEA studies. They suggest that curriculum taken may be correlated with the home variables entered first in the multiple regression models used in the IEA studies. This would explain why program was not a significant factor in the IEA studies (Comber & Keeves, 1973; Purves, 1973; Thorndike, 1973).

Research Hypothesis 1

Research hypothesis 1 states that there is a correlation between type of curriculum/track/school and the parental educational level of the student. The correlation was significant. Again the relationship was strongest when comparing single program schools. This relationship is perhaps better illustrated by a graph (Figure 3). Clearly fathers with education tend to have children studying in an academic program and not a general program.

Research Hypothesis 2

Unlike Thorndike (1973), who felt school variables added very little to the prediction of reading performance, this study has shown that with an appropriate statistical model, school variables do significantly account for more reading achievement variance than do the home variables. This finding is consistent across the tracks.

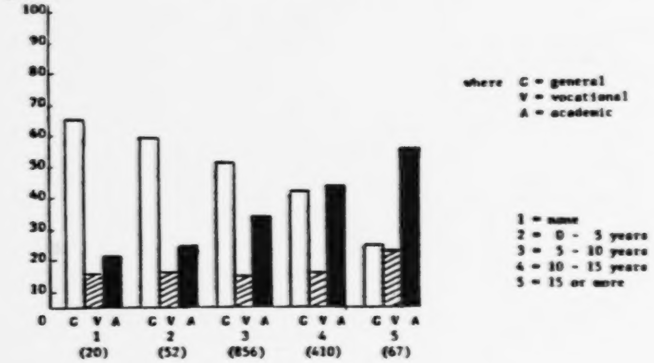
Discussion

This reanalysis of the IEA data has shown the importance of having an appropriate statistical model. In this case the findings of the IEA studies have been reversed. This suggests that the influence of the school factors has been underestimated in the IEA studies and probably in the Coleman and Jencks studies since they used similar statistical models.

Another area of underestimation is the influence of tracking on student achievement. In an IEA study by Heyneman and Loxley (1981), the effect of

Figure 3

PERCENT ENROLLMENT—TYPE OF PROGRAM BY FATHER'S EDUCATION



program was consistently lower than that of either the home or the school variables. Of all the variables in this study, program taken, showed the strongest zero-order correlation with student reading achievement. Because of its strong correlation with the home variables, much of its influence was, perhaps, inappropriately, assigned to the home variables in the IEA studies, thereby, causing the home variables to appear stronger. Obviously not enough attention has been paid to the relationships of tracking and SES.

Unless we want to argue that the social classes are inherently different in terms of academic ability, we need to seriously question the selection process in operation when placing students in tracks. But more imporant, we need to question the whole rationale of tracking. Again there is not enough evidence to warrant such wide spread use of tracking or ability grouping. When identifying effective schools among the urban poor, Edmonds (1979) argues strongly that teachers and administrators should believe that *all* their students can achieve. Cummings and Kobayashi (1984) go so far as to suggest that one reason Japan outperforms America on the IEA tests is because they do not employ homogeneous groupings in their schools. The emphasis is not on innate ability but on the willingness to exert the required energy to succeed.

Even arguments about the necessity of preparing certain students for the job market are questionable. As Jenkins (1988) points out that in England, lower class youth (particularly minorities) have more difficulty securing employment even when they have more training. He argues that there is a weak correlation between educational qualifications and the labor-market position of these minority workers. It seems that the recruitment practices of the employers have more to do with who gets hired than anything else. Vocational training does not guarantee or even offer social and/or occupational mobility for these youths. Other studies have also shown a weak link between vocational training and employment (Psacharopoulos, 1984).

We must keep in mind that the evidence is weak on the academic benefits of tracking, that track allocations have a lot to do with the social class of the student, and that the lower class students in the lower tracks still have difficulties obtaining employment. Why then are industrial nations like England and the United States so committed to tracking?

> As the evidence in this case makes painfully clear, ability grouping as presently practiced in the District of Columbia school system is a denial of equal educational opportunity to the poor . . . attending school in the nation's capital, a denial that contravenes not only the guarantees of the Fifth Amendment but also the fundamental premise of the track system itself. (*Hobson v. Hansen*, 1967, p. 443).

It is perhaps as Karier (1972) argues, that tracking serves more to lock the child into the social class of the parents than it does to enhance the child's social mobility. It is time we repudiate the notion that family background and/or genetic inheritance are the principal causes of student achievement. We need to begin to ask why is it that we choose to not effectively educate the poor.

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Mieko Kotake Smith, a native of Japan, received her Master's degree in Sociology and the Specialist in Education degree in Student Personnel and Counseling in Higher Education from Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. After working with international students as their advisor at Cleveland State University, she entered the doctoral program at the School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, and received the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Social Welfare in 19 Dr. Smith's past experiences include the Director of Research and Training in a psychosocial rehabilitation center for adults with mental disabilities and Research Associate at the Case Western Reserve University campus. Her publications are mainly in the field of mental health. Currently Dr. Smith is actively involved in planning and program evaluation, consultation for various human services organizations in the community, as well as teaching social service courses at Cleveland State University. Dr. Smith maintains adjunct faculty status at the University's Social Service Department.

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William W. Wayson is Professor of Educational Policy and Leadership and Coordinator of the program in Educational Administration at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. His work in urban education began in 1955 with student teaching in Cincinnati as part of his B.S. program at Miami University. His dissertation, completed at the University of Chicago, was titled "Teachers' Expressed Motives for Remaining in Slum Schools." After five years as professor at Syracuse University, he accepted the principalship of Martin Luther King Jr. School in Syracuse and worked with the staff who implemented a number of innovations. Coming to Ohio State in 1970, he served as Director of Urban Education, Chairperson of a department of Educational Development, Professor of Foundations and Research, and of Educational Administration. In 1980 he took a leave of absence to work as Director of Personnel and Organization Development with the Cleveland Public Schools. He has developed a course and a line of research and development on teaching effective self-discipline. His most recent works have examined successful schools to show the relationship between school climate, achievement, discipline, staff morale and public confidence.